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ADVENTURES IN BROTHERHOOD

ADVENTURES
IN
BROTHERHOOD

JAMES E. PITT

NEW YORK

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FOREWORD

"A great deal of good can be done in this world if you do not care who gets the credit."

The sense of mission suggested in those words perhaps comes closer than any other single sentence could in expressing the reason why the National Conference of Christians and Jews has become a tremendous force for brotherhood in American life. It is for this reason, too, that it seemed especially worthwhile to undertake this effort to assess the impact and influence during the past quarter century of this oldest and largest agency dedicated to the improvement of human relations. Millions of Americans know NCCJ's name and have participated in its many and varied activities. But because the Conference has gone about its task of attacking the virus of hate and bigotry quietly and without fanfare, comparatively few people are aware of the scope and effectiveness of its endeavors.

It would, in fact, take several volumes simply to list the vast number of thoughtful citizens who have given of their time and money to help make the Conference goal of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God a reality. There are many richly deserving of credit whose names and accomplishments are not recorded here because of the limitations of a work of this nature.

Although both staff and voluntary Conference workers have been most generous with time and materials in assisting me in the preparation of the book, it is in no sense an official or a definitive history. Rather it is an attempt to catch the spirit that has motivated this trail-blazing American adventure in brotherhood, and to tell in human terms

the little-known story of NCCJ, its purposes and ideals, its mistakes and achievements and its challenges in the years ahead.

The decisions on what has been included and omitted, the interpretation of events and the conclusions are entirely my own. I am deeply grateful for the guidance and constructive criticism of NCCJ President Dr. Everett R. Clinchy and many other members of the national and regional offices. I am especially indebted to Dr. Robert Ashworth, whose earlier historical study proved invaluable; David Legerman, who sparked the idea in the beginning; Ed Austin, Wanda Payne, and Lillian Cohen, who aided in many ways in filling in the gaps; Susie Caltabiano, for her unstinting secretarial help; and particularly my wife, Harriett, whose patient encouragement and expert aid in researching and editing are largely responsible for the book's completion.

James E. Pitt
January, 1955

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ADVENTURES IN BROTHERHOOD

PROLOGUE

THE DENIAL OF BROTHERHOOD

"Men of widely divergent views in our country live in peace together because they share certain common aspirations which are more important than their differences. . . . The common responsibility of all Americans is to become effective, helpful participants in a way of life that blends and harmonizes the fiercely competitive demands of the individual and society."

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

ON THE OPENING DAY of Brotherhood Week in 1954, thirty-five Jewish merchants in the Quad Cities of Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island, Moline and East Moline, Illinois awoke to find their store windows plastered with heavily glued printed signs which read: "This Place Owned by Jews—Anti-Jew Week, February 21-28."

Almost immediately, citizens mobilized to set a "backfire" against the sudden blaze of bigotry. Police tore down the signs in short order. Editorials in the press later in the day denounced the action. Radio and television commentators vigorously blasted the hate merchants' work. The phones of the Jewish businessmen were kept ringing all day as fellow Protestant and Catholic citizens put through calls of encouragement and support. Brotherhood Week took on a new and real meaning in the Quad Cities.

The quick and effective mobilization of men and women of goodwill resulted from no dramatic exhortation or passing feelings of guilt attached to a current celebration devoted to brotherhood. Quad City citizens had been systematically

working for brotherhood for ten years. During that period, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and other intergroup organizations sponsored dozens of human relations workshops and institutes for educators, community leaders and high school and college students. It sparked continuing programs in intergroup relations in churches and synagogues, at the PTA, women's clubs, the Kiwanis and Rotary. Here, as in more than three hundred other cities across the nation where NCCJ has chapters, a task force of responsible citizens stood trained and well-equipped to prevent and, when necessary, to douse the fires of religious and racial antagonisms.

Two years earlier, on the eve of Brotherhood Week, San Francisco's Southwood subdivision was the scene of another ugly incident that spotlighted the bigotry and fear that divides and degrades human beings.

Perhaps more than any other act, the acquiring of a shiny new dream-house is S. O. P. in the American pursuit of happiness. The little white bungalow with pink shutters in Southwood was just what the young couple was looking for. It was roomy enough to accommodate the second baby expected soon, and it was a scant ten minutes away from the twenty-six-year-old husband's job as a mechanic with Pan American World Airways. With great plans, the family scraped together \$2,950 for a down payment and began buying furniture.

But there was one hitch, unplanned and unexpected. A phone call came to Chinese-born Sing Sheng in the midst of preparations, informing him that his future neighbors, all white, didn't want the family to move in. Sing, a former Chinese Nationalist intelligence officer who took refuge in the U.S. when the Communists came to power and later graduated from an American college, was puzzled.

"I was not born in America, and I don't understand," he said. "I didn't know about any race prejudice at all."

One of the neighbors, a fellow employee of Sing's, ex-

plained that there was "nothing personal, you understand." Property owners just didn't want the area overrun by non-Caucasians and the value of their homes reduced. Of course, legally he could go ahead with the move. But the neighbor's children might throw garbage on the lawn and break his windows.

Children wouldn't do such things unless their parents told them to, Sing told his fellow worker, and that hardly seemed like a good way to bring up children in a country dedicated to the principles of Washington and Lincoln.

However, having great faith in his adopted land, he proposed a "democratic" way out: let the neighbors vote and the family would abide by the majority's decision.

Southwood residents soon received two letters, one from a real estate development company warning them of endangering their property values, and one from Sing, who wrote: "... We think so highly of democracy because it offers freedom and equality. America's forefathers fought for these principles and won the independence of 1776. We have forsaken all our beloved in China and come to this country seeking the same basic rights. Do not make us the victims of a false democracy. Please vote for us."

The Sing Shengs lost, one hundred seventy-four to twenty-eight.

All of this happened suddenly and quietly. But the evening the vote was taken the news spread. Wire services, newspapers, magazines, radio and tv stations across the country picked up the story. Public reaction was quick and spontaneous in deploring Southwood's version of democracy.

For two weeks Bay Area papers were filled with protesting editorials and letters. Within a few days Southwood achieved a considerable name for infamy and supplied the Kremlin with a very useful case study for Far East propaganda.

In the midst of the editorial uproar that lasted through Brotherhood Week, a San Francisco radio commentator put in a call to Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the National

Conference of Christians and Jews. What, the commentator wanted to know, did the NCCJ, sponsor of Brotherhood Week, think of this disturbing event taking place in the very time set aside to review American unity and moral progress?

The query had a deeper implication: if such an attack of intolerance can occur when a community has girded its forces for good to battle pitch, isn't it futile to hope that the random sniping of bigots can ever be halted?

It was a fair question.

Here was an American family robbed of human dignity and legal rights. True, the episode had run its course without the violence unleashed, for example, when a Negro family moved into a white neighborhood in a Chicago suburb. And, perhaps, the nature of the conduct of the principals in Southwood's morality play indicated progress of sorts.

Nevertheless, the underlying motives for the expulsion of the Shengs were no different from those of the terrorists who achieved their bitter ends with vitriolic jeers and homemade bombs. The Conference, and other organizations, had acted without success in the Shengs' behalf. Was this indicative of a larger failure?

The Conference had slowly pushed its way to the surface of American life through the morass of religious and racial intolerance that emitted its vilest effect during the historic presidential campaign of 1928.

Led by deeply concerned members of all faiths who were saddened and appalled by the fantastic success in the Twenties of the hate movement's appeal to old and deeply embedded prejudices, the Conference got underway quietly.

Its leaders had no panaceas to offer. But, believing that cooperation among all men of good will could in time change the social climate and thus neutralize the poison spread by America's disciples of discord, the Conference patiently laid plans for a long-time education job.

But, after nearly thirty years of ceaseless and dedicated

work to stem the tide of bigotry, the "Southwoods" are still in evidence. Is the striving, then, a futile quest for a never-to-be-found grail? If not, by what yardsticks can progress toward a brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God be measured?

"The amazing thing," Clinchy pointed out to the San Francisco newsman, "is not that Southwood is inconsistent with the pattern of brotherhood which the community has been praising with many voices all week.

"Rather it is the fact that millions of people suddenly have been made aware of how inconsistent American behavior often is with the idea of brotherhood. Twenty-five years ago, it is highly unlikely that anyone would have paid the slightest attention to a Chinese-American not being granted his legal right to own property.

"But because the NCCJ, in part, has made the American conscience more sensitive to the denial of brotherhood, the Southwood incident became a story of national concern."

The story of Sing Sheng had a happier ending than its unhappily-familiar plot usually allows for. Not too long afterward, the family bought a home in Menlo Park and Sing was promoted in his job.

But the reaction to the more sordid chapter in the Shengs' story offers a deeper lesson for thinking Americans. Throughout the history of mankind, progress has come only when a sensitivity has developed—often tragically late—to the conditions that keep people down.

There have been times when poverty of the masses of people went completely unnoticed. "Let them eat cake," Marie Antoinette cried when told that her starving people had no bread.

Tyrants have always used ignorance to extend their power. In some countries, even today, illiteracy has never burdened the conscience of the prevailing group of leaders. For long periods in history men have demonstrated a remarkable impassiveness to corruption, misgovernment and abuses of

power, accepting oppression and unscrupulousness as outbursts of an unchangeable human nature.

Gradually, and from varied stimuli, people have developed a moral sensibility to these unconscionable deeds. "And today," says Clinchy, "I believe that we are becoming sensitive to the denial of brotherhood even as we became sensitive to the problem of human slavery. People are unwilling any longer to take fatalistically the discriminatory practices of the ages. Beneath the news headlines there lies a determined struggle by mankind against four enemies. They are illiteracy, poverty, misgovernment and discrimination."

The role that the Conference has played in changing attitudes and behavior in human relations is difficult to chart, involving as it does the minds, habits and emotions of men. In effect, the Conference during the past quarter century, with little fanfare and with increasing effectiveness, has sought to tap and insert a purifying agent into the channels of communication.

That agent's strong moral cleansing action, deriving chiefly from religious motivation and frank discussion of the once hush-hush problems of prejudice, has been an important factor in removing some of the worst areas of discrimination from life in the United States.

Perhaps never before has the need for understanding, characterized by traits of brotherhood, been so urgent. But in a shrinking world, torn by strife and faced again with a bitter time of racial and religious tensions, the Conference story is a heartening one.

Twenty-seven years ago the NCCJ set in motion the first systematic, continuing, united effort on the part of Christians and Jews to improve group relations. Its accomplishments, through application of the integrated processes of education, science and religious principles, offer renewed hope for the life-or-death task ahead of forging together the common spiritual and moral resources of free people everywhere.

THE ADVANCE GUARD OF GOOD WILL

"Nothing is so terrible as ignorance with spurs on."

1

GOETHE

THE UNITED STATES IN WHICH THE NCCJ was conceived more than a quarter of a century ago was an incubator historically well-warmed for the hatching of racial and religious hatred.

The principle of religious freedom, perhaps the most significant contribution of America to the theory of government, as early as 1634 was firmly safeguarded in legality. In practice this principle has been contracted or expanded according to the goodness or meanness of the spirit of the people administering the laws.

Maryland, where Catholic Lord Baltimore solemnly decreed that no believer was to be "troubled or molested," established the Anglican Church after the American Revolution and denied full citizenship to Jews and Unitarians. Baptist Roger Williams proclaimed Catholic-less Rhode Island a refuge for the persecuted; later in that colony Jews and Catholics were specifically disfranchised. Until Jefferson's first bill of rights of conscience in all history was passed in Virginia in 1785, children born of parents married by a non-Anglican clergyman were decreed illegitimate.

With the union of the thirteen colonies, limitations forbidding the establishment of a state church or religious tests for office were placed on the Federal Congress. Individual states, nevertheless, could and did keep on the books for generations religious tests directed mainly against Catholics, Jews and Quakers.

That there is a long leap between constitutional amendments and the course of human conduct, however, is evidenced in almost every local and national election ever held. A voter's refusal to vote for a candidate because he is a Catholic, a Jew or a Protestant is in effect a religious test.

Mere disfranchisement, though, appears almost as an act of kindness when contrasted with the periodic violent nightmares of prejudice and intolerance that have reached full fury before arousing Americans from the sleep of ignorance.

One of the many outbursts of bigotry occurred in 1834, during the depression of Jackson's administration, when an anti-Catholic mob ransacked and burned the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The influx of large numbers of famine-stricken Irish to the U.S. during the financial panics of the 1850's was followed by the organization of the Know-Nothing party, a strong nativist movement.

Appealing to latent prejudices, the Know-Nothings fanned the spark of anti-Catholicism into a consuming flame of hate. On the Fourth of July 1854, the Catholic Church in Dorchester, Massachusetts, was blown up. Catholic churches in Sidney and Massillon, Ohio, were defiled and destroyed; nearly one hundred Catholic Irish lost their lives in a riot in Louisville. That same year the Know-Nothings succeeded in electing governors in nine states, eight of sixty-two United States Senators and one hundred four of the two hundred thirty-four members of the House.

The Civil War temporarily diverted public attention from the Catholic "menace." But during the latter part of the nineteenth century the old anti-papal fears found haven in the notorious American Protective Association. Though its methods were not quite as violent as the Know-Nothings', the APA managed to achieve a conspicuous success in the field of bigotry.

The country was still suffering from the ravages of the APA's divisive scourge when in 1920, with the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, perhaps the most formidable hate movement

in U.S. history got underway. The economic depression that struck after World War I, the fever of war psychology, hatred of the Germans, distrust of the Allies, fear of Reds, all combined to furnish a fertile soil for the KKK's rapid growth.

Taken in hand by a couple of fast-talking press agents, the KKK spewed out a homemade brand of Nordic racial propaganda, iced with such slogans as "America for Americans." Despite ten dollar-plus-regalia fees the professional profiteers in prejudice (at times raking in some \$40,000 a month, plus an interest in the sheet concession) dug through the thin coating of understanding hiding the ancient prejudices on the nation's conscience to recruit an estimated 5,000,000 members operating in all but three states.

Mob-spirited lynching of Negroes was the Klan's chief activity, but this time Catholics and Jews were added to the nationwide hate-mongering list and both men and women, black and white, were victims of periodic flogging and other atrocities in the name of "Protestant morality."

"In 1927," Frank Graham wrote in his biography of Alfred E. Smith, "a sweep of religious and racial intolerance that had the country in its unholy grip had not yet reached its peak. That would come a year later, sullyng the national election and saddening the decent and thoughtful members of all faiths. But by 1927 the Ku Klux Klan was on the march in great strength, wielding the lash and the tar brush, its hooded face lighted by the fiery cross, as Catholic, Jew and Negro were hunted and scourged . . ."

"Now a Catholic had the presidential nomination of his party at arm's length and a campaign of unrivaled, almost unbelievable abuse had been launched to thwart him. Scurrilous pamphlets, anonymous letters, behind-the-hand whisperings, employing all the old lies and many new ones, devilishly concocted, were used against him . . ."

A retired attorney named Charles C. Marshall, an Episcopalian, writing in the April 1927 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* challenged, on religious grounds, Smith's presiden-

tial qualifications. The open letter to Smith was reprinted in newspapers across the country and the issue broke violently into the open.

Smith's characteristically frank and forceful reply to the charge concluded:

"I summarize my creed as an American Catholic. I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor.

"I believe in the absolute separation of church and state and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe that no tribunal of any church has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own church. I believe in the support of the public school as one of the cornerstones of American liberty. I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in the public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith . . .

"And I believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common Fatherhood of God. In this spirit I join with fellow Americans of all creeds in a fervent prayer that never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God."

Newspapers and public speakers warmly applauded Smith's words and for a time the tide of bigotry seemed to be ebbing. The *New York Times* commented: "He has with clear and direct honesty set his foot upon a hideous preju-

dice, a slimy and un-American superstition which has been threatening to dominate our public life, but which after this will scarcely dare to raise its head in the open." The *Times*' prediction proved tragically wrong.

In North Carolina alone, a \$500,000 campaign of hate was launched to flood the state with lying anti-Catholic, i.e., anti-Smith, literature and propaganda. In Georgia, some churches exhibited pictures of Smith at the opening of the Holland Tunnel under the Hudson River between New York and New Jersey and apparently convinced large numbers of people that the tunnel was actually being constructed to connect with the basement of the Vatican in Rome, 3500 miles away.

A radio commentator stated flatly over the air that a New Jersey convent had been purchased by the Catholic Church as the American residence for the Pope after Smith's election. Smith's mail was filled with vile threats and predictions that he would be murdered as soon as he took the oath of office, no matter what the safeguards.

After the bitter campaign had ended, Al Smith wrote: "The distressing thing about any degree of success in a campaign of that kind is the exhibition of so much ignorance in a country which has expended so many billions of dollars in the cost of public education . . . It is amazing in this day and age that such countless thousands of people are so stupid as to believe the absolutely false and senseless propaganda that was whispered around."

Many thoughtful Protestants voiced the same opinion. Never before in recurring waves of bigotry had the cost of hate in business losses, political corruption, community morale and religious perversion been so sharply illustrated. Distressed and ashamed, these Protestants felt that the outrages committed against Smith and other fellow Americans were a challenge to the numerically-dominant religious group and that something should be done about it.

"No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come," said Victor Hugo.

The time had come, a handful of Protestants of good will thought, to do something about a continuing program to convince all citizens that the idea of brotherhood was America's hope and strength.

And this time something was done about it, and done with more intelligence and effectiveness than in any earlier era of hate hysteria.

*"We have the vision of brotherhood. And
what man can understand man can do."*

2

JOHN J. MCCLOY

THE FIRST COHESIVE good-will movement in America had its genesis in the early 1920's, just as the Ku Klux Klan was organizing its shrouded mob to short-sheet the American heritage.

There were other harmful forces in play. The editors of Henry Ford, Sr.'s Dearborn *Independent* had just brought world-wide attention and a false cloak of authenticity to the phony *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In 1920 Ford provided what was to become a basic text for Hitler's racial theorists by reprinting the *Independent's* anti-Semitic diatribe in a book titled *The International Jew: The World's Problem*. Ford admitted he was wrong and repudiated the material. A quarter century later, three grandsons of Mr. Ford became leaders in the fight against anti-Semitism and created the Building for Brotherhood in New York City.

That same year, alert churchmen who recognized the dangers of religious discrimination made a noble but ineffectual attempt to talk sense to their countrymen. On the day before Christmas, 1920, the American Committee of the Rights of Religious Minorities, a largely Protestant group though composed of members of all three faiths, issued the

first united expression of opposition to religious and racial prejudice in the history of the United States.

The manifesto said, in part:

"We appeal to all people of good will to condemn every effort to arouse divisive passions against any of our fellow countrymen; to aid in eradicating racial prejudice and religious fanaticism; and to create a just and humane public sentiment that shall recognize the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man . . ."

During the next few years, the Federal (now National) Council of Churches of Christ in America, an association of twenty-seven Protestant denominations, grew increasingly concerned with the growing strength of the KKK. A group of its members was named to study, in effect, the question: "What makes a person join the Ku Klux Klan?" At its 1924 Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, where the potency of the Klan had been most evident, this important and courageous Federation of Evangelical Protestants acted; the Committee on Good Will between Jews and Christians thus got its origin.

Later in 1924, John W. Herring of Ohio became executive secretary of the Good Will Committee. With contributions, including \$6,000 from the Jewish fraternal organization B'nai B'rith, a program of intergroup effort in the field of social and public-affairs education was undertaken. The Committee organized the Chicago Forum Council (later the Adult Education Council, one of the top such undertakings in the country), the Cleveland Education Extension Council and community studies in Detroit and St. Louis.

The new enterprise in brotherhood was launched upon untried seas. When, for instance, leaders of the Protestant Council met with leaders of B'nai B'rith and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, a new custom was established.

Charles Evans Hughes, who was to become Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court a few years later, was

keenly interested in the Committee's aims from the beginning. In 1925 he presided at a dinner at New York's Astor Hotel. The idea of an interreligious affair was so novel at the time that the hotel, at the last minute, scurried about to locate a brand new set of kosher dishes.

Another staunch supporter of the movement, an outstanding Protestant clergyman and past president of the Federal Council, was the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman. In 1927 Cadman, as chairman of the Good Will Committee and the first of radio preaching fame, conducted an anti-~~KKK~~ tour through the Midwest, speaking to crowds of 9000 in Columbus, 3000 in Indianapolis and to large gatherings in other cities where the hate-mongers had made inroads. Dr. Cadman continued to provide "light and leading" in carrying out the NCCJ program from that time onward. He was national chairman of the first annual observance of Brotherhood Day in 1934, was a central figure at the first southern Human Relations Institute held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina in 1936. Of all the conferences he had ever attended around the world, Dr. Cadman wrote, the Blue Ridge event was "the most deeply spiritual and inspiring." It was here that this great champion of brotherhood and human rights made his last address.

When, on July 12, 1936, staunch Protestant Cadman died in a Catholic hospital, attended by a Jewish physician, the circumstances of his death were a symbol of the spirit of his life.

There were a few other pioneering groups besides the Federal Council which early and vigorously had sought to promote understanding between the different culture groups in America. As early as 1908 the Religious Education Association, composed chiefly of liberal Protestants, a small number of Reform Jews and somewhat fewer Catholics was formed to share methods and objectives in religious education.

Other avant-couriers of concord were the Church Peace

Union, which included representatives of the three major religious groups in its ranks; B'nai B'rith; the Calvert Associates (lay Catholics associated with *The Commonwealth*); and *The American Hebrew*.

In 1927, when the Christian Easter and the Jewish Passover coincided, the *Hebrew* announced the formation of a Permanent Commission on Better Understanding between Christian and Jew in America. Members of the three faiths met together to discuss misunderstandings, although the Commission deliberately limited itself to the creation and voicing of public opinion on the subject of interfaith amity.

But occasional exhortations and expressions of good will, leaders of all faiths gradually came to realize, were wholly insufficient to accomplish the job. Also, it was increasingly felt that a larger and more inclusive program should be inaugurated than was possible under specifically Protestant auspices.

A manifestation of religious isolationism of a sort within the Federal Council's Good Will Committee itself hastened the crystallizing of opinion.

Within a couple of years, as one of the group's officials put it later, "it became clear that some of the fundamentalists in the Council were not going to permit us to do business in a gentlemanly way with the Jews." These sincerely motivated obstructionists believed, and brooked no conciliation, that no Protestant could meet with Catholics or Jews without conversion as his objective.

Civic intercommunication between the varying religious cultures could scarcely thrive in the face of this attitude. Moreover, a need was felt for a structure in which American citizens could meet on a parity in conference, not with Protestants as hosts, holding to a restricted area exclusive of questions of doctrine and dogma. When a conference of the members with opposing points of view failed to achieve a *modus vivendi* in 1926, Secretary John Herring suggested

the consideration of a conference body with members of each group acting coordinately.

The National Conference of Jews and Christians (as it was first called) evolved slowly out of many small and earnest discussions and conferences, chiefly between Protestants and Jews. The organization began without formal structure, by-laws or constitution. Its strength was the faith of a few men of deep religious conviction who had caught a vision of a better America, fully utilizing its spiritual and moral resources in the power plant of brotherhood.

In the beginning, the National Conference had neither program nor director, though for a time before resigning to go into adult education work John Herring served simultaneously as executive secretary for the Council's Good Will Committee and as associate chairman of the new organization. Members of the original board included Alfred Williams Anthony, Charles S. Macfarland, Daniel J. Fleming of Union Seminary, Samuel McCrea Cavert, and some of the Federal Council's Committee appointed by S. Parkes Cadman; Louis Wolsey and Abba Hillel Silver of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Alfred M. Cohen and Boris Bogin of B'nai B'rith; Roger Williams Straus and Arthur Sulzberger of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Cyrus Adler and Israel Goldstein, of the Conservative Jewish group; and Herbert Goldstein and David deSola Pool of the Orthodox congregations. The Catholic representatives included Judge Victor Dowling, Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of New York; Michael Williams of *Commonweal*; and Bernard Rothwell of the Calvert Associates, Boston.

In keeping with the idea of an organization independent of the Federal Council's Protestant sponsorship, a separate office was set up at Sixty East Forty-second Street in Manhattan. Two of the first weighty items on the agenda of the new Conference were the matters of a budget and a director.

In the search for a man to lead the earnest expedition into

the unfamiliar adventure in brotherhood, the Conference board went to Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, where a young, Scotch-Irish, high-cheeked Presbyterian minister had turned a rather routine campus organization into the most lively cultural, religious, educational and social instrument of the college.

In four years at Wesleyan as minister of the college church and secretary of The Wesleyan Christian Association, Everett R. Clinchy, barely out of his twenties, demonstrated that he was a man with a mission. His quietly purposeful leadership, depth of understanding and the growing character of his ideas and religious experience inspired the entire student body.

The Clinchy home, located at one corner of the campus and readily accessible day and night, became the social and spiritual center for countless students. The welcome mat was always out to even the greenest freshman, who came to learn that here he would find no pat answers to his questions but a stimulating discussion and an atmosphere conducive to new interests, ideas and points of view.

Clinchy gave his greatest effort and concern to many activities—study groups on world affairs, forums, parleys, musicals, round-tables, dramatics, student-faculty relations. "One is amazed," a Wesleyan professor said not long ago, "when an inventory is taken of the very firmly and extensively rooted activities of the Wesleyan of today which come down from Clinchy's days here, and which owe to him the greater share of their inspiration and nurture in the early days.

"He seemed to have the most remarkable talent for effacing himself, putting others into positions of leadership and promoting the job. The ideas, however, germinated, whenever they were significant, in his own mind. And even though others were in positions of nominal leadership, he was the power behind the scenes, carrying through details, meeting

crises with calm deliberation and steadily unfolding the program."

One of Clinchy's first moves at Wesleyan was to initiate and lead throughout his years there Intercollegiate Parleys on education, world affairs and religion. The parleys drew some of the outstanding men of United States national life and were attended by students invited from other New England campuses. Almost the entire Wesleyan student body turned out on occasion; some of the forums sparked more interest and enthusiasm than the biggest sports event.

Interreligious cooperation permeated much of the program that Clinchy sponsored. Through the year, and at the parleys, people of different religious backgrounds were brought together for the first time in the history of the college. Rabbis, priests and representatives of the Oriental religions sought genuine understanding of each other.

As a result, a considerable amount of thinking on the problem of intergroup relations was stimulated—as well as some free-handed criticism that the young minister was not demonstrating enough Protestant Christian zeal.

Young Clinchy's own father, a staunch Scotch Presbyterian whose people came originally from the north of Ireland, might well have wondered too at his son's affection for diversity in his religious friendships.

Clinchy, a native New Yorker, says now, "I was brought up with the idea that Catholics were different from us. I would not have ventured into the Catholic cathedral for anything. My father was a fine, God-fearing man whose one purpose in life was to bring up his children as worthy citizens of a democracy he loved. Yet I was imbued with a distrust of other worthy citizens.

"The result was that I mingled only with my own group. The world, so far as I was concerned, was my small back yard enclosed by a high fence, which I did not dare to climb."

During his days in the public schools in East Orange,

New Jersey, and after entering Wesleyan, Clinchy felt no compelling urge to leave his own religious corral. At 17, he enlisted in the Army "to make the world safe for democracy." His inevitable associations with men of other faiths left a deep mark on his consciousness.

Fortified by personal experiences, he came to realize that in a democracy all forms of religious belief and cultural tradition must be regarded as personal traits which enrich a nation. The world must indeed, he became convinced, be made "safe for differences."

It was with this concept in mind that he went back to Lafayette College to complete his academic course. For him the high fence of intolerance had been leveled. At Union Theological Seminary, later at Columbia, the Yale Graduate School and Drew University, where he received a Ph.D. in education, he pursued his studies in a new light. He determined to spend his life making his new-found dream of brotherhood come true.

After having been ordained a Presbyterian minister, Clinchy's first location was at Wesleyan in 1923.

In the spring of 1928, Federal Council officials invited him to take the job as secretary of its Good Will Committee and at the same time to direct the program of the infant National Conference of Jews and Christians.

A man and his mission have rarely been so well matched.

*"Having bought truth dear, we must not sell it cheap,
not the least grain of it for the whole world..."*

3

ROGER WILLIAMS

THE UNITED STATES was living it up in 1928.

"Coolidge prosperity" was at its peak. Ginmills were in boom, flappers were in flower and the money-changers were

clipping coupons with a headiness that blacked out any thought of an economic hangover tomorrow. Through the carefree haze, an occasional headline showed: TROTSKY EXILED; 2500 LIVES LOST IN FLORIDA HURRICANE; GRAF ZEPPELIN COMPLETES TRANSATLANTIC TRIP.

With the presidential campaign underway, talk of Prohibition filled the air. A few thoughtful people worried about the rising flood of prejudice. But what really stirred the interest of Americans was the advent of the first all-talking picture.

It was a great, big wonderful world, so it seemed, with the supply of outsize greenbacks seemingly inexhaustible.

In such a bathtub gin-soaked Utopia, there seemed little point in diverting cash to help a group of upstart do-gooders set up shop on New York's Twenty-second Street, a long bottle toss away from the speakeasy belt.

It was America's good fortune that at this cynical juncture, the namesake of a great apostle of religious freedom stood ready with cash and conviction to help put the first workable vehicle of goodwill on the road.

Roger Williams Straus, like the man for whom he was named, early in life was imbued with an abiding faith in his own religion, along with a deepening sense of responsibility toward the defense of the religious liberties of others.

His father, the late Oscar S. Straus, learned well at his father's knee the lessons of biblical history and the Talmud. At the age of ten, the time came for more formal instruction. The only Sunday school in the little town of Talbotton, Georgia, where he lived, however, was a Baptist one. Nevertheless, for the next few years young Oscar, shoes hung around his neck to save wear and tear until he reached the steps of the church, studied religion at a Baptist Sunday school.

His experiences later led him to write a book on the life of Roger Williams. He was also to become a successful lawyer and merchant and to serve his country as the United States minister to Turkey, a member of the Hague Court and

as Secretary of Commerce and Labor in Teddy Roosevelt's cabinet.

Thus it was that Roger Straus grew up in a devoutly religious atmosphere, in a home where statecraft and civic and philanthropic endeavors were an integral part of living. He attended schools in New York and New Jersey, graduated from Princeton in 1913.

Shortly afterward, Straus began a career as an employee in the American Smelting and Refining Company's labor and welfare department that was to bring him hard-won success as one of the nation's leading industrialists and active participants in public affairs.

But as his business interests multiplied, so did his concern with the problems of prejudice, persecution and hate. It was vitally important, he felt, for the Jew, who had suffered from intolerance through the ages, to be particularly sensitive to injustices dealt others than Jews, and to champion the causes of such victims as fervently as he would combat prejudice against himself.

"This view," Roger Straus once said, "was most forcibly brought home to me in my youth. The first time I learned of 'man's inhumanity to man' was not upon the occasion of the persecution of the Jew but on hearing my father describing and deploring the fate of the Christian Armenian at the hands of the Turks.

"The conscience of the world was aroused and my father's sympathies and activities were as fully employed in trying to help these unfortunates as if they were his co-religionists.

"From my father I also learned something as to the most effectual methods of combating the forces of hatred," Straus said. "Further observation convinced me that it is essential to combine a sense of moral indignation with a wise intellectual approach to the problem in order to make any real progress toward better human relations.

"For in the fight against hatred it is not enough to show indignation. Emotional activity manifests itself too often in

counter-hatreds. With this moral indignation must be combined intelligent study of human motives and then the creation of educational methods to civilize our intergroup relations. Without the heart the intellectual approach lacks that driving power to accomplish much. And without the head the emotions may cause us to act in a way that will increase the evil. We must combine the two in any effectual effort to bring about better understanding."

After service overseas in World War I, Straus returned to do yeoman work in furthering the tenets of his own faith. One of the most impressive monuments to his ability and devotion is the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, which he founded and later brought in concert with similar organizations of other creeds toward the end of achieving inter-religious friendship and respect.

It was a natural step from his interest in developing the program of the Temple Brotherhoods to Straus' interest in developing an organization of Protestants, Catholics and Jews to work together for civic ideals. The Federal Council's Good Will Committee was then in operation, and here he found a channel through which he was able to fuse his devotion to the cause of the Jewish people with his interest in racial and religious equality, and to bring into active cooperation with Christian groups the various Jewish organizations with which he served.

But the Committee on Good Will Between Jews and Christians was a very small group. There was little real interest and its leaders were often embarrassed because it was so difficult to bring members together. At the sporadic meetings, Straus would often remark how regretful he was to find only a few faces and almost always the same ones.

When the National Conference of Jews and Christians was proposed, Straus' influence was keenly in evidence. With John Herring, he served as the group's first associate chairman. When the NCCJ was anxiously seeking means to impro-

wise its program, Straus gladly lent \$5,000 which he never permitted to have paid back.

As the National Conference's first Jewish co-chairman, Straus went about the tasks of brotherhood patiently and quietly. One of his associates has noted: "He seems to have a constitutional aversion to anything resembling oratory, and he must be disappointing to those shallow souls who suppose that human relationships are bettered by stridency of voice and aggressiveness of behavior."

In 1935, on the occasion of his receiving The American Hebrew Medal for the Promotion of Better Understanding Between Christian and Jew in America, Catholic Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes paid this tribute to Straus:

"Not only has cooperation between Jews and Catholics become more needful, but the experience of the National Conference has indicated that it is feasible. That this is so, is attributable in very large measure to the personality and example of Roger Williams Straus.

"A Jew of the Jews, he has never for one instant forgotten, or by one iota compromised, the tenets of his faith or the cultural traditions of his people. At the same time, an American of the Americans, he has delighted in understanding and appreciating the essential pluralism of this country—the thought of Protestants and of Catholics as well as the thought of Jews, the rights of Catholics and of Protestants as well as the rights of Jews."

In the pinwheeling America of 1928, with hate peddlers thriving in a seller's market, such a philosophy smacked of radicalism to some, of deplorable religious indifferentism to others.

At the time the NCCJ was born, the unsteady forces of good will were scattering their shots from behind a thin, tri-cornered facade. In one corner, The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League were protecting the rights of the Jews; in another the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Knights of Columbus were

defending Catholics from domestic attack. In the third corner, the Federal Council thought of the fight chiefly in terms of the dignity and rights of Protestants. NCCJ gave expression to a vision few saw, and fewer acted on in the late 1920's: universal relatedness among all believers.

Initially, the remarkable achievement of NCCJ, brought about by the vision and perseverance of such men as Roger Williams Straus, was that Protestants, Catholics and Jews in force joined together for the first time to plan in terms of mutual defense of the rights and dignities of each other. It foreshadowed a new pattern for which Pope Pius XII later pleaded: *cooperation among all men of goodwill in a time of mutual danger from atheistic materialism*. Moreover, Roger Straus, influenced by experiences with Asians and Europeans during his father's duties in Turkey, set a course for NCCJ which would ultimately make nothing less than world brotherhood its goal.

NCCJ marked the end of an era of isolationism among citizens of different religious cultures under attack. But the fight ahead was all uphill.

"You get to the top of a mountain only as a result of climbing with other people on a rope. It is not a matter of who is first, second or last on the rope. Each has a particular job to do and one is bound to help the others."

4

COLONEL JOHN HUNT,
LEADER OF THE MT. EVEREST EXPEDITION

WITH A PERSUASIVE argument for "justice, amity, and cooperation" instead of hate, the Conference made its first appeal for popular support in a letter signed by Charles Evans Hughes, Rev. S. Parkes Cadman and Roger W. Straus.

The letter campaign, made possible by Straus' \$5,000 loan

that became a gift, was moderately successful. Some anti-Semites, to indicate their contempt for the idea, returned envelopes stuffed with matzoh. A few others were even less polite; they scribbled the mouthings of the professional hate-mongers, forwarded sentiments of the psychologically sick along with packages of manure.

But—an amazing act on the basis of a single letter—a member of the Hershey chocolate family wrote a very stirring letter to Dr. Cadman in support of the Conference concept and accompanied it with a \$5,000 check.

Even more encouraging to the founders, however, was the number of \$5, \$10 and \$25 contributions which came in. The average was around \$10, an indication of the character of an organization of popular support—a character which the NCCJ still retains today.

All told, cash for the Conference's first year of operation, including some expenses shared with the Federal Council of Churches, amounted to \$11,740. Considering the size of the task, it was scarcely a drop in the budget, but it was a start.

In the midst of the letter campaign thirty-one-year-old Everett Clinchy relinquished his duties at Wesleyan and moved into an office of the Federal Council at One Hundred Five East Twenty-second Street in Manhattan. The office consisted of a rather forlorn library of a few miscellaneous books, a desk for Clinchy and another for a stenographer who would be hired when the budget allowed.

At the Forty-second Street office, John Herring and a fundraiser, temporarily assigned to running the drive, shared a single room divided by a partition. The only other salaried employee at the time was Victoria Radin, an enthusiastic Hunter College alumna inspired by the challenge of the forthcoming adventure in brotherhood. Her devotion and incredible energy turned to any and every job at hand, supplied a vital spark to the NCCJ in its lean days and beyond. Today Mrs. Victoria Radin Law is director of NCCJ work in New York's Bronx area.

When Clinchy arrived, Miss Radin took over the job as secretary-stenographer for both offices. It was a trying time of penny-pinching. Mrs. Radin Law recalls: "Every time we issued a check, we had to add our balance three or four times to make sure it wouldn't bounce." Clinchy joined in the stamp-licking chores, soon became a very competent package wrapper, too.

On one occasion Roger Straus wanted to reach Clinchy and asked Miss Radin his whereabouts. He was out of town and her trained reaction prompted her to say: "If you wait until after six o'clock, it will be cheaper to call him."

Lack of funds soon made it necessary to close up the Forty-second Street office, and the tiny staff was consolidated in the Federal Council building. There it remained until 1937, when the growing young organization moved across the street to a building on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, then in 1941 to the now well-known "381." 1955 marks the date of dedication of The Building for Brotherhood given by The Ford Motors Fund and the three brothers, Henry II, Benson, William Ford. It will be located at Forty-Three West Fifty-seventh Street.

During this period the group whose duty it was to shape up an opening program was busily engaged in constant conference and investigation.

"When I arrived in New York," Clinchy said, "all of us were quite at a loss as to what should be done. John Herring had made the rounds of a number of cities and staged goodwill dinners and meetings, but the affairs had not jelled into the actual beginnings of chapters and there were no permanent groups established around the country with whom we could correspond."

Although the NCCJ had several roots, one of the strongest stemmed from the Rockefeller-supported National Conference on the Christian Way of Life which later, largely because of the participation of a number of Jewish scholars

and philanthropists, made official its popular name, the "Inquiry."

During its early phases and for many years the NCCJ had the benefit of Inquiry experience already gained in endeavors similar to its own. The Inquiry's Commission on the Church, for instance, had done considerable work in developing the technique of panel discussions between representatives of the three faiths.

The NCCJ continued the work begun in Midwest cities, had a small finger in the pie of conversation that led to the formation of a New York City Adult Education Association, conducted various meetings of the more flamboyant good will type and was particularly successful in helping to raise funds from Christians for Eastern European Jewish Relief.

Gradually, from the intellectual crossfire two viewpoints emerged: 1) that the NCCJ should stress the direct attack on prejudice and the direct fostering of good will; 2) that tolerance and understanding are functions of social liberalism or progressive social purposefulness that can be urged on the minds of men only through long-range educational processes.

Clinchy's natural bent, coming from the college campus, was to consider the problem first in terms of diagnosis and research; second, therapy, or steps that could be taken to solve the complicated equation of prejudice; and third, a program of training citizens in the art of human relations.

He turned to C. E. Silcox, a Canadian-born Protestant who was working with the Inquiry. Silcox, after long and careful research in Connecticut, had put together an exhaustive study on the inner fears of Catholicism and Catholics.

Together they set to work on the first major Conference undertaking, a two-day seminar with participants to include leading Catholics, Protestants and Jews. The seminar idea, Clinchy felt, would establish the NCCJ on a sound educational base. Originally planned for the fall of 1928, the program was delayed because of the newness of the project, the lack

of staff and money, and the difficulties of lining up representative speakers for so controversial a topic as encounters between citizens of different religions.

It was hoped that the seminar would clear the air, reveal goals for community cooperation on which future NCCJ work could be based, and bring widespread attention and support to the organization. It was, however, a kind of whistling in the dark. No one could be quite certain what objective might be reached, for no one could foresee what might take place when public leaders met on a campus for a frank and unprecedented cross-examination of their human relations problems.

NCCJ promised uncompromising discussion, a chance for members of the three culture groups to talk over the "rubs" between them. The program, as Professor William H. Kilpatrick put it, might have been summed up: "What are the rubs? Why are the rubs? How do they rub?"

The seminar was set for January 30-31, 1929 at Columbia University, and President Nicholas Murray Butler readily consented to address the opening session and serve as chairman of the sponsoring committee. Father Wilfred Parsons, S.J., agreed to exhibit a collection of anti-Catholic tracts and handbills gathered during the infamous campaign against Al Smith only a few months earlier. The display covered four walls of a room in Earl Hall.

There were some last minute troubles. Only \$1,000 had been budgeted for the affair and it began to look as though the bill might run to at least \$2,700. Of more serious concern, however, was the fact that some Jewish groups threatened to denounce the whole proceeding as an attempt to proselytize.

Nevertheless, the seminar went on as scheduled, opening with talks by Butler, Father J. Elliot Ross, Catholic student advisor at Columbia, and Rabbi Isaac Landman, editor of the *American Hebrew*.

Later, in small groups, the conference narrowed down to

person-to-person discussions of such special subjects as the difficulties members of each faith found in fitting themselves for and locating jobs, the current kinds of misrepresentation of the tenets and practices of one faith by another, and community areas of conflict and cooperation.

It was during a panel on "Education and Miseducation in Religion" that the seminar reached its most dramatic peak. The indignation that only a Protestant who believes Catholics consider his religion counterfeit can exhibit burst forth at one point in the discussion of the firm Catholic belief that his is "the one true faith."

There was no attempt to evade or compromise the point. A Catholic priest rose to say that certainly Catholics believe, with regard to their unique revelation of God's truth, that it is the *one* true religion which the Catholic Church is charged to preach in every corner of the earth.

"We are not going to change," he said. "You non-Catholics have got to learn to get along with citizens who feel this way."

Rabbi Landman of Brooklyn, long devoted to the cause of interreligious understanding, spoke up. He could understand such a statement, he said, because Jews felt the same way with regard to the Torah—the truth in Judaism. "Therefore, the problem is to agree to disagree agreeably."

There was a releasing laugh.

Then a Protestant bluntly asked: "Must I, a Methodist, go to hell?"

A Roman Catholic priest smiled broadly as he stood up to reply. "That's up to you!" he said. "In Catholic theology God in His infinite wisdom allows freedom of conscience. I would hope that you should become a Catholic. But as long as your reason and conscience truly lead you to do otherwise, you have as good a chance to get to heaven as any Catholic."

Freedom of conscience, so respected and adhered to in

NCCJ's formative days, was to become a basic principle in the organization's future work.

"I suppose that nothing will ever touch the excitement of the first institute at Columbia the beginning year," Clinchy observed recently. "I believe that those discussions set the tone which has rung true through the history of the NCCJ.

"We have thought not in terms of any superficial uniformity or of glossing over very real differences. Ours has been a confidence in the value of creative conflict, the good that can come out of the 'encounters' between sincere people of varying cultures.

"We have discovered civic values in the proper use of culture diversity in this land and in the world. There are uses mankind is only beginning to understand in the dynamism of cultural pluralism in group relations. Striving for brotherhood, we early learned, requires an affection for diversity."

This was a point emphatically restated later by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes when Clinchy, Roger Straus and Basil O'Connor visited his home to make NCCJ's first award to him as a founder. Said Justice Hughes: "If we ever lose the right to be different, we shall lose the right to be free."

The Columbia Seminar, cautiously conceived, but boldly planned and carried through, not only set a tone; it set a pattern for the work ahead by demonstrating the importance of the educator, the religious leader and the community organization person tackling the job in unison.

There would be plenty of elbow room for differences in the NCCJ. The idea is summed up in an early-day analogy, adapted from Booker T. Washington's comment on social problems. It is now well-nigh a cliché in the vocabulary of the good-will movement, but still sound and pertinent: on doctrine and dogma members of the varying religious faiths can be as separate as the fingers of an outstretched hand; but on social and civic tasks, in all things American, they can be as united as a man's clenched fist.

*"(Brotherhood) is a dream we keep apart from cynic's
sneer and fool's derision;
Beyond the grasp of graph or chart,
It is a hunger in the heart;
And in the soul a vision."*

5

JOSEPH AUSLANDER

AFTER CLINCHY TOOK OVER his challenging new task, one of his first moves was to find and secure the consent of prominent religious laymen to serve as co-chairmen to help shape the policy and program of the Conference.

Roger Williams Straus, whose role in the movement was already firmly established, accepted the post of Jewish co-chairman—a post to which he has continued to devote a major part of his thought and energy ever since.

Clinchy had met Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War in President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet during World War I, during his work at Wesleyan University.

At his invitation, the distinguished lawyer came to Middletown to address one of the college's famed intercollegiate parleys on world affairs. The two, both deeply concerned with the conflicts between American culture groups, grew to be warm friends. Thus, when casting about for an eminent Protestant co-chairman, Baker was one of the first men to whom he turned.

This statesman, born in a West Virginia hill town, the son of a book-loving country doctor, had been a member of the Episcopalian faith since the age of 14. Slight (barely 5 ft.), square-jawed, he was a man whose soft speech and seeming contradictions in character belied his incredible ability to get things done.

He had no desire for public life, yet he devoted most of

his life to it. A pacifist and staunch defender of the League of Nations, he was no devotee of non-resistance and could say: "I am so much for peace that I am willing to fight for it." His accomplishments in Wilson's cabinet in the face of violent and constant criticism led both friend and foe later to acclaim him as the greatest Secretary of War, in war, that U.S. history has produced.

One of the most forceful speakers of his time, Baker campaigned for Al Smith in 1928, was boomed regularly for president himself, but always resisted. Like many other Protestants, he was appalled and ashamed at the irrational anti-Catholic antagonisms that burst forth during the Smith campaign.

Baker was intensely interested in the movements for adult education which were gaining support in the late 1920's. These movements, he felt, "are perhaps the most significant recent development of our thought in attempting to preserve our institutions."

On the subject of adult education and democracy, he once said: "If I may paraphrase a great statement of Abraham Lincoln's, my own belief is that democracy cannot continue, under modern conditions, to endure half educated and half ignorant."

In Cleveland where he lived and practiced law, Baker served as president of the Religious Education Association and was active in the city's Education Extension Council, which the Federal Council's Committee on Good Will Between Jews and Christians had organized and subsidized earlier. When Dr. Clinchy called on him there, he was readily sold on the idea of joining with Roger Straus in NCCJ as the Protestant co-chairman.

Baker's reasons and his vision of the Conference role were clearly summed up in his observation at the time that "the greatest defect in American society today is that there is no recognized or effective medium for the expression of moral

opinion, no great sunglass to collect moral forces and to fix them upon the issues before us."

In 1930, *The American Hebrew* awarded him its first medal for "the promotion of better understanding between Christian and Jew in America." It was conferred "chiefly because he has succeeded among opinion-makers throughout the country in bringing them to an acute realization that the endeavor is not a mere sentimental gesture, but brings results. He has not only promulgated the ideal of better understanding, but formulated it into a program that appeals to reasonable men . . ." Newton D. Baker was NCCJ's Protestant co-chairman until his death in 1937.

Until 1930, the Conference functioned without the assistance of a Catholic co-chairman. The NCCJ began, as a matter of fact, with Protestants, joined by Jewish leaders, rushing to the defense of Catholics. A number of Roman Catholic individuals lent advice and moral support during the first months of NCCJ's existence, but initially Protestants and Jews carried the burden of the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan's anti-Catholicism.

But if NCCJ was to succeed at securing cooperation among citizens of all faiths, it was clear that the weight of Catholic support must be brought to bear. When the time came to broaden the base to a firm-standing tripod of Protestant, Catholic and Jew, the name of Carlton J. H. Hayes was at the head of the list.

Hayes, Seth Low professor of history at Columbia University and later, during World War II, U. S. Ambassador to Spain, was an internationally renowned authority, particularly in the field of modern history. He had been much impressed with NCCJ's sound academic approach suggested at the Columbia Seminar.

Recounting in later years how he came to accept the Catholic co-chairmanship, Hayes said: "The Conference was originally restricted to Protestants and Jews; and I must confess that when Catholic Christians were eventually in-

vited to share in it and I was pressed by its devoted director, Dr. Clinchy, and by a distinguished priest, Father Elliot Ross, to accept a co-chairmanship of it along with Mr. Baker and Mr. Straus, I yielded with some reluctance and many doubts.

"I imagined that the Conference would be either contentious or futile, and besides I had always had a temperamental distaste for mere professions of brotherly love. These were apt, I had noticed, to cloak personal ambition or group interests."

That Professor Hayes' doubts about the feasibility of cooperation among all men of good will were soon dispersed is evident in the fact that he served as Catholic co-chairman for the next fifteen years.

From the start of NCCJ's expanding program, the counsel and active participation of the three co-chairmen were always available. They brought the Conference prestige. But more than that, they brought the invaluable contribution of their deep commitment to its purposes and their wisdom in the many difficult and often delicate problems that arose in the conduct of its work.

Baker looked upon conflict between culture groups as a part of American life which, far from weakening it, was of the essence of the national tradition and character. He would not have conjured it away even if that had been possible. But Baker insisted that conflict be conducted on a high level, and not permitted to get out of hand and degenerate into abuse and rancor. "Statesmanship," as Baker defined it, "is the art of dealing with a conflict situation while the factors are still manageable."

He did not think that pre-judgment could safely be ignored.

Baker insisted, for example, in his principal address at the Williamstown Institute in 1935, that harmonious collaboration between culture groups can be achieved only through genuine mutual understanding. And that much-

abused term meant for him, as for other active participants in NCCJ's formative years, not a denial or playing down of actual frictions, but a joint effort to recognize their origins and to prevent them from remaining—or becoming—occasions for animosity.

Carlton Hayes, as well, had no use for vague sentiment about brotherhood. One of his principal contributions to the intellectual ferment of those days was his rugged insistence upon knowledge of historical and anthropological factors.

On several occasions, notably at the Washington Seminar in 1932, he warned against the assumption that strife and prejudice would disappear if only you could teach people to hew through the jungle of their diverse beliefs and attitudes to the lowest common denominator.

On the contrary, what brought people together, he held, was esteem and appreciation for the highest reaches of their respective cultures.

"What has saved us as a nation in the past from despotism and the denial of human liberties is primarily our religious, racial and cultural pluralism. That pluralism we must retain, and the only way by which we can retain it is to accept the differences among Catholics, Protestants and Jews as facts and as desirable facts, to recognize that each group enriches rather than impoverishes the American scene and the national tradition and, while learning to respect one another's peculiarities, to learn also to cooperate in the responsible tasks of American citizenship.

"We differ as groups, but we have like human interests and joint civil obligations. We certainly can and should cooperate to achieve social and economic justice in this country, to educate for world peace, to deal intelligently with delinquency and crime, to cultivate standards of good taste, to safeguard human rights."

Hayes, in more than one of his speeches, put very well both the nobility and realism in the NCCJ philosophy by noting

that the real need is to have "a rivalry in good works and a competition in excellence." People of one group, he felt, can engage in a friendly struggle with those who differ from them, and still remain loyal to their own ways of life.

Out of this creative conflict of differences would come competition in developing citizens of unimpeachable character—and rivalry in demonstrating what good works the people of each culture can contribute to the common civilization of mankind.

On occasion, especially during the early days when both were seeking to arrive at the fundamentals of the problem of prejudice, Hayes and Baker themselves disagreed. In 1932, for example, Baker proposed an intensive research effort to determine whether the religious element was the basis for most prejudice. In an exploratory letter he suggested that prejudice against Jews might be only incidentally religious and primarily "racial," that perhaps a distinction might be made between "religion" and "ethics."

Hayes took sharp objection. "Is it possible," he asked, "to divorce a Jew's ethics from his religion—or a Jew's religion from his ethics? And if it is possible, does any one actually do so?" Of Catholics, Hayes was sure that the problem of prejudice in the United States was the outcome of ignorance and dislike of the Catholic religion, even though racial, economic and other factors were involved.

"I can't escape the conviction that millions of Americans with Protestant background despise Catholics for being so 'ignorant' as to believe in the Virgin Birth, Immaculate Conception, the veneration of images and relics, the confessional, etc. . . . Besides, don't many, many Americans with Protestant (or Jewish) backgrounds accept as a fact that 'the good Catholic acknowledges the temporal supremacy of an alien authority'? Even Mr. Baker seems to accept this.

"If there were knowledge, not ignorance, concerning the Catholic *religion*, it would be recognized that *no* good Catholic acknowledges the temporal supremacy of an alien author-

ity. The only Catholics who acknowledge the temporal supremacy of the Pope are the five or seven hundred persons actually residing in the Vatican State . . . I dwell on this to illustrate my point that in English-speaking countries, anti-Catholic prejudice is primarily a *religious* prejudice.

"To my way of thinking," Hayes countered, "the Conference should devise ways and means of getting Americans to know what Protestants, Jews and Catholics do believe, rather than what they do *not* believe. This, as I see it, is the main task before us—a task of education in true understanding of *differences*."

Under Baker's and Hayes' leadership, and that of Roger Straus, the early NCCJ seminars, institutes and local roundtables continued diligently and honestly to dissect clashes resulting from differences in religion, race and national origin, not to hide them under much talk about tolerance and fairness.

The purpose of the National Conference was defined by Baker and Hayes at the first Williamstown Institute in 1935 in terms that have stood the test of time and anti-religious tirades. With the addition of a single adjective, these terms continue to constitute the statement of purpose in an article in the NCCJ constitution which reads:

"Believing in a spiritual interpretation of the universe and deriving its inspiration therefrom, the National Conference exists to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships."

The issue of whether NCCJ, dedicated to fostering civic cooperation, should include in its constitution a reference to its religious base, came out dramatically at a forum in one of the little theaters on the Williams College campus.

One participant suggested that the organization might be more effective if it had a totally inclusive base, and there was a warm and lengthy discussion on the point.

Baker and Hayes insisted that NCCJ's fellowship should be limited to people who accepted a "spiritual interpretation" of the universe and, with a single exception, the decision of the group was unanimous in agreement.

The decision to limit NCCJ membership to those who hold to this spiritual affirmation has been one of its greatest safeguards. While there have been occasions where the bigoted and frustrated have attempted to smear the Conference as Communist-influenced, there has never been a single occasion of the staff or a board of directors being infiltrated by Communists. The fact that NCCJ has maintained this religious base for its work undoubtedly has been the reason why it has been secure from that kind of influence.

Succeeding national co-chairmen through the years have stoutly adhered to those early-formed principles upon which NCCJ's strength is founded. Nobel Prize Physicist Arthur Compton, whose great work for brotherhood is discussed in a later chapter, became Protestant co-chairman following Baker's death in 1937. He in turn was succeeded in 1948 by Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric and then-chairman of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. Deeply concerned about the urgent need for inter-religious cooperation, Wilson helped particularly in revitalizing the essential spiritual motivation of NCCJ. Upon his resignation to become director of the Office of Defense Mobilization in 1951, Benson Ford, dynamic young industrialist, accepted the post, continuing a brilliant history of Protestant leadership in NCCJ.

Carlton Hayes served until 1945 as Catholic co-chairman. He was succeeded by Thomas E. Braniff, prominent Roman Catholic layman and Southwestern business pioneer who had climbed to international distinction as an insurance and airline executive. Braniff, a Knight Commander of St. Greg-

ory and a Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre, kept NCCJ aims always in his heart and schedule, devoting much of his time, energy and wise counsel to the cause of brotherhood before his untimely death in a plane crash in 1954. Later the role was taken over by James F. Twohy, a man of equally broad vision, and prominent in West Coast business, civic and philanthropic affairs.

At a fiftieth anniversary celebration in Oklahoma City in honor of Braniff's career in 1951 (at which NCCJ cited him as one of the leading architects of World Brotherhood), Congressman Brooks Hays of Arkansas spoke what might well stand as a well-deserved epitaph: "I have never met a man who did not speak well of Tom Braniff. His spirit will always live in the great cause to which his name is attached."

AN AMERICAN PILGRIMAGE

"The American people know that the cultivation of the spirit of brotherhood is merely the fulfillment of the purpose of God that all His children should live together as one family."

1

HARRY S. TRUMAN

ON THE EVE OF HALLOWEEN in 1933 a sight far more strange to the American eye than facsimile spooks and hobgoblins that walk like moppets appeared on the ramp at the Newark airfield.

There was nothing particularly eye-catching in the get-up of the three men who waited to board the Curtis Condor plane to Baltimore. The strange thing was that they should be together at all. And stranger still that they should be joined together in an unprecedented mission that would set a new and dramatic pattern for brotherhood in America.

For one of the trio was a priest, one was a minister and one a rabbi. They were embarking on a nation-wide tour to preach the gospel of good will, and at the same time to size up the prevalence of witches in American religious life.

The beginning of this unusual adventure in brotherhood was newsworthy enough to be recorded by a wire service photographer and depicted in newspapers across the country. Also on hand for the departure was a Paramount news-reel camera and sound crew.

When the film appeared on movie screens a few days later, along with news items about the doings of a famed young flyer named Lindbergh and a burgeoning dictator named

Mussolini, it was titled "Three Wise Men Set Forth." The announcer noted that the Reverend Everett R. Clinchy, a Presbyterian minister, Father John Elliot Ross of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron of Baltimore were starting on a tour taking them to thirty-eight cities in twenty-one states in the interest of understanding among Protestants, Catholics and Jews. They were giving their services gratis to this cause, he said.

Dr. Clinchy then appeared on the screen, smiled and said: "You see, we are giving a practical demonstration that a Roman Catholic priest, a rabbi of the synagogue and a Protestant cleric can live together harmoniously in a suitcase for seven weeks. If there is one phrase that characterizes our endeavor, it is good sportsmanship in American inter-group relations."

Father Ross then moved into view. "I am going on this tour," he said, "not only as a Catholic priest but as an American citizen. Religious liberty was made in America, and we must keep it safe from Old World jealousies and hates."

The camera then focused on Rabbi Lazaron who, taking off his spectacles, spoke these words: "As representative of the mother religion whose followers have been here since colonial days and who have stood shoulder to shoulder with our fellow citizens in the struggles of war and peace, I deem it a privilege to participate in this pilgrimage to ensure and maintain the American ideal of religious liberty and human brotherhood."

The idea of the "Tolerance Trio," which marked the period when the NCCJ began to take on size and reach, was conceived by Clinchy in the summer of 1933. It stemmed, as did many early Conference projects, from his experiences with seminars at Wesleyan which demonstrated how stimulating and soundly pedagogical it was to present varying viewpoints frankly and face to face. Always, when there was an intellectual clash, the resulting sparks kindled the minds of the audience.

The trio was a natural extension of this give and take technique, with minister, priest and rabbi appearing on the same platform, stating forthrightly—and indeed, for emphasis, often quite bluntly—what each stood for and the areas of disagreement, and winding up with a constructive note on common objectives as Americans and human beings.

Because religious bigotry finds one of its most solid bases in nativism, the Conference thought it wise to select a priest and rabbi whose Americanism could not be challenged.

Father Ross, author and lecturer on Catholic doctrine on several foundations at United States colleges, was chaplain of the Ark & Dove Society, whose members were descendants of the founders of Maryland. His name was not likely to arouse the feelings of alienism attached to later immigrant strains.

Rabbi Lazon, shepherd of Baltimore's Hebrew Congregation since 1915, traced his genealogical descent from an old Georgia family, as well as from Judah P. Benjamin, famed secretary of the treasury for the Confederacy. A chaplain during World War I, he was one of the four chaplains officiating at the burial ceremony for the Unknown Soldier.

Father Ross agreed to give up the period of time without fee and arranged a leave of absence from his work as chaplain to Catholic students at Columbia University. Rabbi Lazon also was able to get free time from his congregation. When NCCJ-sponsored roundtables and pro-tem civic committees in the various cities agreed to organize meetings and chip in on expenses, the tour was set.

The announcement was greeted with considerable dubiety by members of all three faiths. Directing the NCCJ, Clinchy observed at the time, was like running a three-ring circus. "It requires," he said, "a constantly alert tactfulness to allay the suspicions of Catholic, Jew and Protestant alike, that the others are in some subtle way using the organization for their own exclusive advantage." The trio idea brought many of these misgivings to light.

Protestants wrote to accuse Clinchy of selling out to the Catholics and Jews. Classmates and friends he chanced to meet often expressed how sorry they felt for him, kidded him about "working for the Jews," or ridiculed the whole NCCJ concept.

Rabbi Lazaron was warned by many of his Jewish friends that by participating in the tour he would compromise his position as a Jew and indicate merely by his appearance with a minister and priest that possibly there was nothing of unique value in Judaism. There was danger, said his would-be advisors, that he might even be converted to Christianity himself. And anyway, Catholics couldn't be trusted in the long pull; throughout history, they had attempted to proselytize Jews and the trio was probably another shabby game to weaken the Jewish faith. Some Jews suggested that the whole plan of the tour showed the astute hand of Rome in furthering its ambitions in the United States.

Father Ross, too, received many letters advising him that he was jeopardizing not only himself but the Catholic church and its tenets. The trip, Catholics wrote, was just another piece of Jewish cleverness in using Christians to stem anti-Semitic propaganda. One writer, with evident seriousness, advised Father Ross not to play any poker games on the tour, "for the rabbi would certainly end up with all the money!"

To the members of the trio, the outpouring of unsolicited advice was but another indication of how important it was for the pilgrimage to introduce the custom of friendly discussion between clergymen of the different faiths, while each maintained his own separate way of worship and basic beliefs.

At the airfield in Baltimore, first morning stop of the trip, a newspaper photographer dashed up to get a picture of the trio. The photograph appeared prominently on page one of the home edition of the afternoon *Sun*. Later in the afternoon, Clinchy bought extra copies of the paper to give to

other members of the team as souvenirs. There was no sign of the trio's picture. It had been replaced by a shot of three neck-and-neck, front-running horses from Baltimore's afternoon races.

Though the trio's press fame was quickly eclipsed by hot racing news from Pimlico, its activities during the day left an indelible mark on the conscience of Baltimore.

At noon, the trio met with faculty and graduate students of Johns Hopkins University. After hearing talks by the three men and attempting an analysis of intergroup relations in the United States, led by Clinchy at the blackboard, the group voted to hold further discussions of the subject with the aid of social scientists.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the trio made a coast-to-coast broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System. An hour later they were on hand for a seminar at Goucher College attended by three hundred people. The main problems raised, chiefly by students, were suspicion of the political activities of Catholics and social discrimination against Jews, particularly in sororities. Afterward, the three men agreed that the meeting had eloquently demonstrated that emotion-laden questions such as these could be safely handled in public discussion.

In the evening the members of the team addressed sixty community leaders. Most of those present were Protestants, although there were a number of Jews, and one lone Catholic.

Father Ross closed his evening talk with an incident in the life of Cardinal Gibbons, a beloved figure in Baltimore, which illustrated the Cardinal's broad spirit of brotherhood.

"At a civic function which included a parade," Father Ross said, "the master of ceremonies had inadvertently failed to assign places to Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Peret, an Episcopalian.

"The Bishop approached the Cardinal and said: 'Your Eminence, if the same custom prevails in your church as in

mine, of the superior dignitary going last, then I shall precede you.' With the exquisite tact which never failed him, Cardinal Gibbons took him by the arm and, instead of addressing Peret as 'Bishop,' a lower ecclesiastical title than the one the Bishop had used to address him, said: 'My brother, we shall walk together.'

"In this great adventure that will take us across the country," Father Ross concluded, emulating the example of the great Catholic churchman, "I say to my friends, Everett Clinchy, a Presbyterian minister, and Morris Lazon, a rabbi of the synagogue, 'My brothers, we shall walk together.'"

Before the deeply-moved gathering of Baltimore civic leaders broke up, a motion was made and it was unanimously determined to institute a permanent branch of the National Conference to serve the city.

*"Of course, suspicions arise among the three groups;
but each side must muzzle its own fools!"*

2

FATHER J. ELLIOT ROSS

THE BIG NEWS OF 1933, the year of the first good-will pilgrimage, was sharply at odds with the aims of the tiny band of NCCJ missionaries.

In Germany, Adolf Hitler became chancellor. Four weeks later the Reichstag building was destroyed by fire and within days the power-hungry Nazi tribal chief won absolute power. By June the Hitler government had embarked on a campaign to reduce by law the percentage of Jews in government, in industry and in the professions—a campaign that was to make names like Buchenwald a synonym for horror and a terrible reminder of the most massive degradation of human dignity in history.

At home, the deepening depression had made a shambles of American buoyancy and optimism—and brought on the inevitable round of scavenger hunts for scapegoats.

The coincidence of waves of religious bigotry with economic depression was subjected to analysis by the trio at many points during the tour. At Ohio Wesleyan University in Columbus, for example, Dr. Clinchy, Father Ross and Rabbi Lazoni led two hundred and fifty students in a discussion which clearly suggested the Conference role in the difficult days ahead.

The trio, in brief, outlined the problem in this manner: Social equilibrium has been seriously disturbed by changing economic conditions, which in turn has resulted in unrest. Historically, a time of such insecurity has always led to a rise of tensions between cultural groups.

"We must face this complicated problem in an American way," the trio concluded. "If hostile, overt action is to be escaped between Protestants, Catholics and Jews in this time of depression, continued conference among the groups is necessary for the removal of misunderstandings, the breakdown of unwarranted prejudices and the promotion of cooperation."

Before a group of prominent citizens in Washington, D. C., Father Ross recalled a story he had read as a boy in grammar school. It was about a small boy whose father talked to him one night about the power of the human eye to control animals. If he happened to meet a bear, said the father, there was no need to be afraid. All he had to do was look the bear in the eye and it would not harm him.

On the way to school next morning, the boy, passing through a stretch of dark woods, saw at the side of the path ahead a bear. Remembering his father's advice, he looked it straight in the eye and was heartened to see that the bear made no attempt to attack him. As the sun climbed higher and more light penetrated the woods, the boy realized that it was not a bear at all, but only the stump of an old tree.

"In a similar way," said Father Ross, "we are inclined sometimes to turn a perfectly innocent stump of a tree into a bear of bigotry. All that is necessary to make us realize this is to look it right in the eye and let in the light of free discussion."

It was a good analogy but, as the trio soon discovered, their audiences rarely failed to challenge or dissect almost every statement they made. One man was on his feet soon after Father Ross had finished. The analogy was hardly correct, he declared, because there are some very real bears that have not the slightest resemblance to stumps of trees. He pointed to the reality of Nazi propaganda flooding the United States as a very acute problem and referred specifically to a report in the papers that day of a doctor who had refused to submit to cross-examination by a Jewish judge.

When the trio first started out, it was agreed that Father Ross would get the permission of the Catholic bishop in each city in which they were to appear. Most of them gave their approval. The two exceptions occurred in Cincinnati and Chicago. "The incidents," Father Ross said later, "did throw an interesting light on the Protestant and Jewish suspicion that the whole tour and in fact the NCCJ itself, was a subtle scheme on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to use the other groups to its own advantage."

In mid-tour, the trio took note of the fact that, while they had been received on campuses of Protestant sectarian colleges and universities, in two cities where there were Catholic institutions—Notre Dame and Marquette—no arrangements had been made for seminars for Catholic students.

Later, however, Rabbi Lazon was very gratified at the reception for the first time in history of a rabbi on the platforms at both St. Mary's College in Salt Lake City and Colorado's Loretta Heights College, a Catholic school for girls. At a special convocation for both lower and upper class students at the latter, he was greeted warmly by the Mother Superior.

Noteworthy was a meeting with some two hundred students and seven Jesuit priests at another Catholic institution in Colorado, Regis College. The occasion marked the first hearing by Jesuits of the purpose, philosophy and methods of the pilgrimage and the NCCJ. Since then, many Jesuits have played important roles in NCCJ's crusade for the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

Father Ross had a favorite story which he often used as an illustration of how misunderstandings about Catholics occur. It concerned a speech on prohibition made some years earlier by William Jennings Bryan. The morning after his speech, the press reported that Bryan had said: "Nothing smelling of the Vatican can ever again lift its slimy head in American politics."

Soon after, a Catholic weekly published a bitter editorial denouncing Bryan for introducing religion into the discussion of such a question. Later, a priest who was a friend of the famed orator-politician telegraphed him and discovered that what he had actually said was: "Nothing smelling of the vat can ever again lift its slimy head in American politics."

"I don't like that man," Charles Lamb once said very positively about a passing stranger.

"But, Charles," a friend remonstrated, "you don't even know him."

"Of course I don't know him," replied the great English essayist. "If I knew him I couldn't dislike him."

3

ALL ALONG THE NINE-THOUSAND-MILE TOUR the trio faced and answered as best they could the doubters and dissenters.

At Kansas City, an atheist suggested that the way to get rid of intergroup criticism is to get rid of religion. Said Dr.

Clinchy: "I doubt that he became convinced of the fact that from our point of view, he was 'throwing out the baby with the bath water.'"

A sophomore at Drake University, apparently with little appreciation of the historical background and deep roots of the differences between the three faiths, voiced the apparently widespread student impatience with theological subtleties and demanded some attention to social realities. Rabbi Lazon, in answering, said he thought the student had misinterpreted the trio's mission, which was not to work for doctrinal unity, but to apply whatever of idealism there is in each religion to a solution of civic problems of contemporary life.

From other questions, it was apparent that a number of members of both the faculty and student body failed to grasp the complications of intergroup relationships and felt that probing into the intricacies was a waste of time. As pointedly as possible, the trio emphasized that there is no intellectual novocain or oratorical anesthetic which can painlessly eradicate old prejudices.

At the University of Wisconsin, the trio was able to give effective council in an ugly situation fostered by a handful of anti-Semitic students. Jews were accused of monopolizing the University Memorial Union building and the trouble came to a head during the Engineers' Parade when derisive signs were carried reading: "Meet you at the Jewnion Building" and "The Union—Our Gift to God's Chosen People."

Rabbi Lazon remained on the campus after the other two members of the trio had left to talk with the groups involved. All agreed to work quietly to dissipate the totally incorrect assumption—that the building was a "Jewish hang-out"—by closer supervision of the troublemakers, and by planned across-campus programming use of the building by all groups.

In Salt Lake City, attention was focused on a different kind of situation. A Mormon lady, head of cultural activities

for young women in the Latter Day Saints Church, opened the roundtable with an assurance that Mormons had no prejudices in their social life and cordially welcomed non-Mormons to their functions. But this very hospitality, it was soon discovered, was resented by Protestants, Catholics and Jews—all minority groups in this situation—who felt it was a means of proselytizing.

A grand-nephew of Brigham Young admitted that in the second generation of the Mormon settlement, a wary attitude toward other faiths had been conscientiously cultivated in the young. He now thought, however, that the Mormon people felt secure and were ready to accept more appreciative attitudes and genuinely seek free comradeship in response.

In introducing Rabbi Lazon to an audience at Columbia College, a Catholic institution in Portland, Father Ross said that the group might find it interesting to get his reaction to the charge of divided loyalties on the part of Catholics.

Rabbi Lazon's reply was to speak of his experience as a father who discovered unsuspected capacities for affection with the birth of each child, a love for one not excluding the other but rather expanding the personality and enriching it.

In Jackson, the trio heard time after time the remark that their appearances together was an astounding event to Mississippi people. There had been several periods in the memory of the present generation when even the leaders of the Protestant denominations refused to sit on the same platform. Therefore, the sight of a priest, rabbi and a minister standing together on a busy Saturday night before an audience of 3000 naturally produced wonder and astonishment.

For the trio, the most remarkable highlight of the tour was their reception in Butte, Montana, where the KKK and the Silver Shirts, and other hate-mongers had worked long and hard; once blood had actually run in the gutters of this mining town when the anti-Irish and the Irish came to blows in street fighting. In both social and political life in

Butte, areas of strain, especially between Protestants and Catholics, were glaringly evident.

An afternoon session with leading citizens brought out a discussion of the current rumor that Catholics were opposing a bond issue for a new high school. A Catholic judge and an Anaconda Copper Company official present immediately declared that if Catholics were opposing, they were doing it as citizens, largely because of economic reasons, and not because they felt the new school would compete with the local Catholic school.

The falseness of the rumor was quickly apparent. An Episcopal minister said that he had refused to sign the petition because he was not convinced of the need for the project. A Catholic monsignor pointed out that he *had* signed the petition, both because he favored the new building and because he hoped that the Catholics might be able to buy the old one as a school for girls!

The upshot of the meeting was an enthusiastic decision to continue the committee as a clearing house for the quashing of just such unfounded rumors, utilizing fully the press, radio and educational institutions.

At seven-fifteen that evening, the Butte reception committee rushed into the trio's hotel rooms in a highly excited state to report that the Fox Theater, the location of the Civic Brotherhood Mass Meeting, was already full forty-five minutes before the scheduled meeting hour. Crowds were milling in the streets. A hasty arrangement opened the Knights of Columbus Hall a block away for an overflow session.

Wendell Brooks, president of Intermountain College and chairman of the Montana Rhodes Scholarship Committee, served as sidewalk announcer, pleading with the crowd to keep calm and turn toward the other auditorium for seats. "The picture of this college president in a cut-away coat serving as circus hawker struck all of us as humorous," one of the group said later.

By the time the meeting opened, the theater had a capa-

city crowd of some eighteen hundred people; the Knights of Columbus Hall held nine hundred more, with two hundred standing for an hour and a half during the proceedings. Brooks estimated that between six hundred and a thousand people had been turned away.

At the Fox, Clinchy spoke first, then rushed outside to a waiting bicycle to pedal to the other meeting where Rabbi Lazaron was just completing his opening address. It took some fancy managing, but Father Ross, second at the Fox, concluded the meeting at the Knights of Columbus Hall and Rabbi Lazaron wound up the session at the theater. At both meetings motions were adopted favoring and endorsing the formation of a permanent organization in Butte to carry on the work of the NCCJ.

The first trio pilgrimage, in fact, laid the groundwork for the Conference's nation-wide network of chapters. (Today, the NCCJ has sixty-two full-time regional offices plus permanent volunteer committees in hundreds of cities.) Of thirty-eight communities in twenty-one states visited during the seven-week tour, thirty-five organized permanent committees. Altogether, in one hundred twenty-nine meetings, the trio's message reached perhaps 100,000 people, not counting the audiences which heard twenty-three broadcasts, two over national hookups. In San Francisco and Phoenix alone over seventeen thousand people attended the meetings.

"I think that in every city, considerable skepticism prevailed," Clinchy, reminiscing about the tour, said recently. "But there was an element of curiosity about that first trio that demanded attention. All of us were convinced that the response of high school and college youth was especially outstanding.

"We had some heckling. We had some criticism about the co-mingling of Catholic with Jew, Protestant with Catholic. But we were never threatened and never had any meetings broken up by any overt incidents or serious audience unfriendliness. Nor were we ever picketed; I don't

recall that ever happening in the experiences of the Conference.

"I would say that on the whole, America was ready for the idea. The spirit in which the tour was prosecuted might be summed up this way:

"Hostility and unjust discrimination against a religious group coarsen the spirit of people who practice it. On the other hand, some ennobling, refining influences enrich the lives of all who intelligently seek to understand and appreciate the groups that lie outside their own immediate circles.

"There appears to be a spiritual law of universal application: in proportion as we champion the rights of others we secure our own. 'The tide lifts all the ships.'"

*"I can remember when the Methodists would sing Will
There Be Any Stars in My Crown and the Baptists
would reply from across the street with the hymn, No
Not One."*

4

ALBEN W. BARKLEY

WITHIN A FEW YEARS the trio method of presenting the principles of intergroup friendliness, understanding and cooperation began to take shape in American folkways. The first trip covered nine thousand miles; three years later twenty-five different teams covered a total of thirty-eight thousand miles. During World War II, trios reached some 7,000,000 fighting men with the camp show of brotherhood. Employed in local situations numberless times, the trio technique has been widely adopted by various agencies for many kinds of occasions.

Today, the familiar sight of priest, rabbi and minister standing together has become a significant symbol of unity in American life. But what contributed most in establishing

a new pattern of intergroup thinking was the open-handed manner and gentle good humor with which the trios milked the sacred cows of prejudice.

Very early during the first pilgrimage, at a morning chapel service at Ohio Wesleyan attended by thirteen hundred students, Clinchy, Father Ross and Rabbi Lazaron hit upon the idea of trying a conversational method, a kind of Socratic dialogue, rather than talking one after the other in fairly formalized fashion. It began with Clinchy putting six questions to Lazaron and Ross, the answers to which were calculated to lay low some of the bogies about Judaism and Catholicism. Then they raised a few problems for Clinchy. The idea proved popular and pedagogically effective.

On a broadcast in Indianapolis, the trio further developed the question and answer technique. They involved the audience. The trio was hesitant about trying the discussion on some thousand youngsters at a high school assembly in Madison, Wisconsin. To their surprise, the students responded quickly, and a dozen or so hands at a time waved in eagerness to get into the discussion. When the forty-five-minute session was up, the principal announced that the meeting was proving so extraordinary and stimulating that he thought it more important than attending the next class. The announcement evoked a round of cheers (perhaps from mixed motives) and the assembly continued on for an hour and twenty minutes.

The dialogue presentation was next tried and enthusiastically applauded at a Rotary Club luncheon in Portland, and, later, at a meeting attended by some two thousand adults in a San Francisco theater, and at a similar large gathering in Phoenix at which the governor of Arizona presided.

Along the way, the three men sat up late into the night critically examining and polishing the "act." All felt that there were weaknesses in the presentation of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic positions, and decided to put more emphasis on the idea of each defending the position of the

other. This, they felt, would dramatize the main purpose of the tour: to demonstrate appreciation for another man's point of view while remaining loyal to one's own. They labored hard, too, to get a lift and touch of humor in the script.

By the following year, 1934, the dialogue was well in hand. On a trip through the South, the trio, this time with Father T. Lawrason Riggs, chaplain of Yale's Catholic Club and Associate Fellow of Yale's Calhoun College, and Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein of Rochester, used the technique at almost every stop. Sample questions and answers from the platform of the University of North Carolina's Memorial Hall:

Protestant—"Do Catholics believe that all Protestants and Jews are going to Hell?"

Catholic—"No, we believe that no one loses his soul who does not knowingly sin against the Light. With repentance, anyone will be saved if he follows his conscience . . ."

Turning to the Jew, the Protestant inquired if the Jews are a solid bloc.

Jew—"No. Jews vary, just as any other group. They are not a solid bloc. As Rabbi Stephen Wise used to say: 'Ask any four Jews a question and you'll get five opinions.' There are good Jews and bad Jews; rich Jews and poor Jews. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Jews differ as do Christian denominations."

The Protestant asked the Catholic: "Didn't the Pope tell you to vote for Al Smith?"

Catholic—"No, the Pope is not interested in American politics, as non-Catholics generally seem to think. As a matter of fact, many Catholics did not vote for Al Smith."

Father Riggs confessed later that he had been quite dubious also about the reception of the trio in the South, "the stronghold of Protestant fundamentalism which was, not so long ago, also the stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan."

After the trip he said that his preconceptions about the hostility of Southerners "were completely shattered. The cor-

diality of our reception is my chief impression of the tour. Personally I value the contacts with Southern Protestantism as a most enlightening result of the trip. No Catholic could fail to respond to the vital faith in supernatural Christianity and to the eager charity that marks so many of the cultivated gentlemen it was my privilege to meet. For these things, as for their genuine desire to understand where they are unable to agree, I thank God."

Rabbi Bernstein, of Rochester's Temple Brith-Kodesh, was a veteran and dedicated leader in the fight for understanding and cooperation among citizens of different religions. He also had played a formative role in NCCJ's early days. In 1928, he made a memorable address at the Federal Council's Rochester convention on Interfaith Relations. This was the first time a rabbi had given a major address before a national convention of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The Rochester meeting contributed considerably toward developing the idea that became the National Conference.

In Montgomery, the trio was invited to address the State Legislature. They accepted, of course, and there, in the beautiful old Alabama capital, spoke to a joint session of the legislature in the cause of goodwill.

Recalling the pilgrimage not long ago, Rabbi Bernstein said: "We spoke at big meetings in big cities. We prayed with, and I must say for, the Alabama legislature. We also got into little Southern towns where they had never seen a priest or a rabbi before.

"Father Riggs never lost his equanimity or his sense of humor. The country was still smarting from the bitterness of the 1928 election which had evoked strong religious feeling and prejudices. It was charged, said Father Riggs, that Al Smith planned to have the Pope come over the day after election and run the country. But when the returns showed that Herbert Hoover was elected, the defeated candidate, said my friend, sent a one-word cablegram to the Vatican. It read, 'Unpack. Al.'

"One could see faces break out into reluctant smiles—as they did, too, when I told stories about the Jews. I think that more than what we said was the demonstration of our own friendliness. The people probably forgot our words, but many of them have never erased from their memories the picture of minister, priest and rabbi, obviously good friends without surrendering any of their divergent religious beliefs.

"The elements of unity also became clear in these pilgrimages. I remember on one day we heard in a Catholic Mass, '*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.*' In their service, Protestants sang the hymn, '*Holy, Holy, Holy.*' And in the synagogue the Cantor chanted the original words from which the others came, '*Kodosh, Kodosh, Kodosh.*'

"We also encountered some disturbing problems. In South Carolina our itinerary brought us to a Negro college. We gave them a typical program. After we finished, a man stood up and said, 'Why talk good will to us?' Our answer had to be lame. The problem of prejudice against the Negro haunted, and I believe still haunts, every effort for religious good will, including that of the National Conference."

Despite the problems, the work continued and expanded. Probably no volunteer travelled more widely or spoke more frequently for the NCCJ than Father Michael J. Ahern, S.J., a Jesuit professor of Weston College, Massachusetts. He was particularly helpful in the early years when all too few able speakers saw the vision of this work.

In 1936 Father Ahern visited twenty-seven cities; in 1939 he telegraphed back to NCCJ headquarters: "Just returning from Texas trio tour. Report seventy meetings in nineteen cities and towns before a total of forty-two thousand people with nine radio broadcasts. Tour was big success." Seventeen of these places had never been reached by the Conference before. Over a period of fifteen years, Father Ahern spoke more than twenty-five hundred times and traveled over fifty thousand miles for the NCCJ cause.

Illustrative of how the pilgrimage idea caught on, with

further refinements in technique, was the record of the Des Moines Goodwill Team. In three years the team traveled more than eleven thousand miles, presented one hundred twenty-nine programs (to audiences totalling more than forty-four thousand persons) in Iowa, Kansas and Illinois. The beginnings of the work stemmed from the visit made by the first trio to Des Moines in November, 1933.

Although its make-up varied from time to time, the veterans on the Des Moines team included Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer of Temple B'nai Jeshurun, a leader in many civic affairs and the Masonic Lodge; Father Robert A. Walsh, professor of English at Dowling College, editor of the Catholic Diocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Messenger* and a member of the executive council of the Des Moines Adult Education Council; and Stoddard Lane, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, a trustee of Grinnell College and chairman of the Des Moines Church Council.

A fourth member, whose enthusiasm and deep-seated faith in the Conference ideals helped spark the team's effective presentations, was Willard Johnson. A university dean, Johnson had been an associate pastor at the Plymouth Congregational Church. He was active in the city's adult education program and peace council, did a weekly religious newscast over Station WHO. In 1936, he became a part-time Midwest representative of NCCJ (at thirty-five dollars a month), went on in 1938 to serve as full-time regional director in Des Moines, then St. Louis and later at other important posts in New York, including that of vice-president. Today Johnson occupies a key position in the World Brotherhood organization in Europe.

The Goodwill Team soon earned warm acclaim as the "Corn Belt Crusaders." One newspaper, with considerable justification but with no disrespect, called their program "a religious minstrel show." It was done entirely in informal, conversational fashion and, while much time was devoted to

solid discussion, there was a steady exchange of good-natured banter and jokes.

The format, with the four men presumably gathered in Johnson's office to discuss plans for the next program, was suggested by Dr. Lane and Rabbi Mannheimer. The standard opening: Johnson appeared on stage, looked at his watch, remarked that the men were late again—as usual. When the three came in, one by one, quite apologetic, they seated themselves around Johnson's desk, with Father Walsh invariably seated between Johnson and Mannheimer. Walsh would say: "I guess I'm caught between the devil and the deep blue sea."

If the occasion permitted, the four would take out pipes and begin to fill them. The conversation developed the idea that each smoked "his own particular brand of tobacco," made the point that each also worshiped God in his own particular way, but all worshiped the one common God.

If the next program was to be in, say, Oskaloosa, one would ask: "Just where is that place?" "Oh, that's that little suburb of Ottumwa's." "They don't have any prejudices in Oskaloosa, do they?" "No, no prejudices there—except against Ottumwa and the Ottumwa football team"—or whatever team had just beat the Oskaloosans.

Here, the subject usually turned to a discussion of what prejudice is. One of the men would suggest that anyone who did not agree with him was, from his point of view, patently prejudiced, "being *down* on what you're not *up* on." Father Walsh would then say:

"The word prejudice, you know, is a combination of the Latin *pre*, which means *before*, and *judicare*, which means to judge. So prejudice means to judge before, and a prejudiced person is one who judges before he knows the facts. For example, anyone who judges another man before he knows anything about him, except that he is a Catholic, or a Jew, a Protestant or a Negro, is judging him before he knows the facts, and thus is guilty of prejudice."

"But, Bob," the rabbi would say, "you aren't suggesting that just because we happen to know the facts about you that we really have to like you?" To which the priest would answer, sadly: "No, I guess that would be expecting too much. You don't have to like a man just because you know about him. The important thing is that our likes and dislikes—our judgment about any man—ought not to be based on some stereotype of the man's group, race or religious fellowship. They ought to be based on a man's own individual character, actions and attainments."

The programs were unrehearsed and spontaneous, with questions on almost any phase of religion, politics or human relations likely to pop up at any time. Father Walsh, the quartet's top story-teller, always had a good anecdote to fit the point he was attempting to make. If, for instance, the question arose about Catholics supposedly being the only ones who had a chance of getting to heaven, he would say:

"That reminds me of a story of the man who, on getting to heaven, was asked to be shown around the heavenly precincts by an angel guide. The guide explained that the Methodists lived in a dry and sandy quarter, the Baptists in the wet section, etc. When they came to a place surrounded by a high thick wall, the newcomer asked: 'And who lives there?' 'Hush, hush,' whispered the heavenly guide, 'that's where the Catholics live, and they don't know anyone else is up here.'"

Whereupon, Rabbi Mannheimer would ask: "But, Bob, isn't there a place in heaven for us Jews?" "There didn't used to be," Walsh would say, "but I understand that the WPA is taking care of it for you," and then continue seriously to clarify the common misconception among non-Catholics.

The discussion would usually turn then to whether or not priests kept their parishioners "right under their thumb," and Father Walsh had another story for the occasion about the non-Catholic who attended a Catholic service. He hurried home to tell his wife that at one point the priest had

taken his stand, looked the congregation right in the eye and said: "Dominick, go frisk 'em." And a group of men rushed out to do just that. The frisking, of course, was the regular collection-taking, and "Dominick, go frisk 'em," it developed, was simply the priest's greeting, *Dominus vobiscum* ("The Lord go with you").

Here, Mannheimer would suggest that the group should visit the synagogue, "because we never take up collection at services." When another would ask how the Temple got its money, he would reply, "Oh, we frisk 'em before they come."

Another contribution by Rabbi Mannheimer to the humor of the program, when the charge was raised that Jews are "united" and "one-minded," was to say: "There is just one thing on which any two Jews are able to agree. And that is on what a third Jew ought to give to charity."

Throughout the fun-filled, seemingly hit-or-miss program, however, ran very basic purposes: 1) To make clear that there was absolutely nothing concerning intergroup problems that the team would not readily discuss freely without arguing doctrine or dogma. 2) To throw light on common, prevailing or historic misconceptions and prejudices entertained by any majority or minority group. 3) To emphasize that there are fundamental differences in beliefs, theologies, institutions and religious practices. 4) To emphasize as strongly as possible that members of the three faiths had things in common as American citizens, even though important doctrinal differences remained. 5) To leave no doubt or misunderstanding about the aims of the program and the purpose of NCCJ.

Willard Johnson would wind up in the closing moments by saying that the purpose was not to "water down" religion but only and always to inspire "Protestants to be better Protestants, Catholics to be better Catholics, Jews to be better Jews, and all of us to be better Americans.

"All of us must stand together wholeheartedly, as good

Americans, in the so urgently needed common defense of our common ideals and aspirations, against our common all-too-powerful foes—materialism and all the other false isms now rampant in the world and all of which are equally and alike the enemies of religion and of democracy.”

When Dr. Clinchy and his associates look back upon the manner in which they went about trying to change attitudes in the early days—with trios, heavy reliance on emotional appeal, barnstorming tours—they smile a little at their own naïveté.

For today the Conference’s approach is deeper and more mature. It has profited from new findings in the social sciences and been enriched by new educational techniques. Indeed, the NCCJ has been a pioneer in this work itself because the Conference began to realize how little information directly relevant to its purpose was actually available in the field to help it in its mission. The human relations workshops held at great American universities, the round tables and educational seminars and institutes gradually began to replace the hit-and-miss methods of the early days.

Nevertheless, the NCCJ trios were a colorful and imaginative experiment absolutely essential to capturing public attention, and much more than a public relations “stunt.” In 1954, Archbishop Gerald Bergen testified that in the nineteen thirties NCCJ teams of teachers changed the culture climate of Iowa from intergroup fear, mistrust and isolation, to understanding, good will and cooperation. Bishop Bergen, who served the state during the KKK years, witnessed the amazing transition that the brotherhood program brought about in spite of Klan activities and Nazi racial propaganda of the period.

In terms of rallying support, launching an infant organization and focusing the public’s attention on the problems of inter-group relations, the trios served a very important purpose at that time.

T H R E E

BRIDGE-BUILDING: CONFERENCES AND COMMUNICATIONS

"It ain't so much the ignorance of mankind that makes them ridiculous as the knowing so many things that ain't so."

1

JOSH BILLINGS

"WE WERE TWO INNOCENTS in Hollywood and it was something to worry about."

Rabbi Lazon, reminiscing recently, was describing how he and Everett Clinchy felt when they first visited the reputedly wild and wicked cinema capital in 1935. The two members of the first trio, warmed with the success of their nationwide pilgrimage and eager to spread the word of brotherhood still further, had decided to stage a frontal attack in 1934 on one of the country's leading media for mass communication.

Their plan, such as it was, was simple enough and grounded entirely in their boundless faith that the United States was ready to accept NCCJ principles. The two men, short on cash but long on enthusiasm, planned to meet with a group of moguls and producers and convince them that the NCCJ idea (justice, amity, understanding among American Protestants, Catholics, and Jews) should be included, not only in short film subjects, but adapted in varying form in the story lines of major productions.

Lazon and Clinchy had a few leads through such stars as Eddie Cantor and Leo Carillo, but found it next to impossible to get to any of the leading lights. After considerable maneuvering, however, a conference was finally arranged

with "Mr. Hollywood" himself—Louis B. Mayer. Said Lazon: "What 'L. B.' said, went!"

A little uneasy when they arrived in the handsome outer rooms of the movie tycoon, "We began asking ourselves, 'What are we doing here?' After a short wait," Lazon recalls, "we were summoned into a magnificently-appointed office. Behind a twenty-five-foot circular table was a little man behind thick eyeglasses. He looked at us rather indifferently, as if to say, 'All right, what's on your mind, spill it.' Clinchy began explaining about what the conference was doing and 'L. B.' began to perk up a bit. Meanwhile, I was doing some thinking."

After a momentary lull in the conversation, Rabbi Lazon turned to the great man of the motion picture industry and said: "Mr. Mayer, we had the privilege last evening of seeing that magnificent production, *The Good Earth*. As I witnessed it, knowing that I would see you today, I had a number of visions. They concerned you.

"The first vision came to me when we walked through those long blocks to the theater and saw the lobby filled with costumed Chinese figures and crude farm implements from China. China had been brought to Los Angeles. My first vision was of the tremendous power in the hands of a man who could transplant a foreign culture and make it live halfway around the globe.

"My second vision was of a little boy born years ago in a Polish ghetto. It was the day of his Bar Mitzvah. That part of Russian Poland had been the scene of great tragedy—pogroms, murder and death. Many people from the village had gone to the fabled land of America. I tried to envision what was in the boy's mind, how he might be thinking of one day coming to America to make his home.

"The third vision was of you here today. Here you are the greatest single influence in one of the most powerful instruments to mould minds and set the pattern for good or evil in the world today. What you could do!"

At that point, Rabbi Lazon painted a dramatic verbal vignette of an America of the future when the dream of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God would be a reality.

"L. B." was not long in demonstrating how the inspiring recital had moved him. He immediately sent out a telegram to some twenty-five leading Hollywood executives, summoning them to a conference on the subject two days later. The next day he called in all of his writers and producers and said, "We'll do it." From then on, writers, producers, directors and actors shared what Quakers call "a concern" to build the sense of intergroup brotherhood into people. Frank Freeman of Paramount, Darryl Zanuck of Fox, Sol Lesser, David O. Selznick, Dore Schary, Robert Montgomery, Harry and Jack Warner became NCCJ leaders. In New York, Will Hays, Spyros Skouras, Barney Balaban, Jack Cohn and others organized under J. Robert Rubin's chairmanship. Some of the results of their concern with problems of prejudice are illustrated in a later chapter.

In this same pattern Clinchy later enlisted Henry Seidel Canby to convene a company of twenty-five top writers of the calibre of John Marquand, Thornton Wilder, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Fannie Hurst, Sophie Kerr Underwood, Amy Loveman, and inspire them to feel a responsibility to include the theme of intercultural brotherhood in literature.

As Brotherhood Week came into being, various committees were organized to work with countless other writers and editors. The newspaper and magazine world showed keen interest and more and more material was published in an increasingly varied group of publications, including trade magazines, house organs, comic books, as well as great national monthlies and weeklies, and the daily press. The Magazine Committee, under the chairmanship of John Farrar, met weekly, in fact, for several years.

Over the years, as it became apparent that the cumulative effect of telling the story of brotherhood through mass media

could play an important role, a change in the approach to the problem of teaching brotherhood gradually took form in NCCJ thinking.

The Conference had started out with a program somewhat limited in appeal. Newton D. Baker, for one, did not believe that NCCJ should think in terms of becoming a mass movement. A relatively small number of people, enlisted with the power of persuasion to reach the professional and official leaders of the institutions and organizations of the country, could do the job of building for brotherhood best, he felt.

He often pointed out that history was essentially a story of leaders and followers. Thus, if you can guide the leaders, they will make the decisions and create the following that can bring about the lessening of prejudices and bigotry that have disfigured and distorted business, social and political relations.

Baker did not minimize the value of a direct, educational approach. Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, leading Jewish layman and lawyer who helped Baker write the Conference's famed Statement of Purpose and has devoted much of his life to helping it come to pass, noted at a seminar in New York in 1931: "One of the objectives of NCCJ must be to bring home to people, in ever-widening circles of round-tables and seminars, a bold, clear realization of just what it is that makes each individual carry through his life the unreasoning emotion which we call racial and religious prejudice."

Baker, who spoke at the same session, recognized the value of Proskauer's point, but counselled that in addition, "we ought to engage the attention of our fellowmen in things that are sufficiently worthwhile to make them unaware of immaterial distinctions." As he put it:

"This movement must be tributary to that larger movement, the education of the whole mass of the democracy, in order that it may apply itself to a statesmanlike solution of the problems which modern life presents to free people."

Actually, the round-table idea, a basic project of NCCJ from earliest days, served chiefly as a technique for training key citizens of communities for effective leadership in conflict situations. It served also to amplify and extend the fundamental NCCJ definition of its function—a “conference” (Webster: “An interchange of views”), not a “council.”

As early as 1931, one hundred thirty-four United States communities were busy arranging round-tables with NCCJ assistance. Some of these were inter-city, others inter-state meetings. The same year forty colleges held interreligious conferences. The NCCJ *Information Bulletin*, “published occasionally,” reported that “this program is becoming increasingly significant as that of a national conferring body of Protestants, Catholics and Jews.”

The local round-tables, composed of leading citizens of the varying religious and racial groups and established on a permanent basis, acted as community powerhouses for the generating of “justice, amity, understanding and cooperation.”

One aspect of the work of an NCCJ round-table is illustrated in the story of what took place in Lansing, Michigan in the mid-thirties. The day after Hitler became master of Germany—January 31, 1933—William Dudley Pelley, one of the most fanatic disciples of the ministry of hate, organized his Silver Shirts, a violently anti-democratic and anti-Semitic outfit that once claimed more than two million members. Before long, organizers, sporting their fancy garb, moved in on the Michigan town.

Forewarned of the nature of the organization, the local NCCJ branch took a course there novel in American history. Instead of arousing people to fanaticism against the organizers, community leaders attempted an immunization job. They called on municipal officials, service clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, labor union and business leaders, women’s clubs, fraternal orders, veterans’ organizations, school prin-

cipals, the clergy, radio station owners and newspaper editors to warn them about the hucksters of hate.

Armed with statistics and well-documented experience from other communities, they convinced citizens that once such a group got a foot in the door, it would be bad for business, bad for politics, bad for the city's morale and reputation, and disastrous to religion.

Each organization approached accepted its share of responsibility in working to immunize the population against the racist-nationalist appeals of the group. Within two weeks the organizers packed their silver shirts, blue corduroy pants and gold stockings and left town: they couldn't earn expenses. The movement died a sudden death.

In 1938, at a time when there were already in existence Brotherhood Week committees or well-established roundtables in eleven hundred and fifty communities, NCCJ launched a Tenth Anniversary campaign to institute clearing houses of religious groups in every center of population. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in accepting the honorary chairmanship, warned that "philosophies dominant in totalitarian states must not be allowed to disrupt the cordial relationships which now exist among Americans." The campaign succeeded in establishing conferring groups in every major city.

Seminars and institutes, which the Conference sponsored by the hundreds in its formative years, were another leadership-training device in keeping with Baker's philosophy. Eminently successful also as a method of attracting nationwide attention to the ideals of brotherhood, seminars, either of a community character or adapted to a college or university, have been utilized continuously throughout the years by NCCJ.

The first, noted earlier, was held at Columbia University in 1929. Other seminars of the same general character ("concerning the relations of Roman Catholics, Jews and Protestants") were held at Harvard the same year, sponsored by

the Calvert Associates. Harvard's President Lawrence Lowell made the opening talk. St. Louis followed, where Bishop William Scarlett was the moving spirit, and later Wellesley College was host to a seminar. Educational hosts for such seminars during the first ten years included leading institutions from coast to coast.

The method of staging such meetings and some of the immediate results are depicted in a brief look at the Syracuse Seminar held in the Spring of 1931. Clinchy, invited to speak at the city's First Baptist Church, initiated the plan by telling of the success that the conference technique had had on campuses. He felt that a similar effort would succeed in upstate New York, centering in Syracuse.

A local committee of seven Protestants, seven Catholics and seven Jews was organized to perfect the plan. When the two-day conference opened on April 20 several hundred people were on hand.

Numerous discussion methods were introduced, beginning with an open session to dissect social strains between the three religious groups. Clinchy himself presided at the blackboard, as one of the audience said later, "with such a degree of frankness and of confessional sincerity that the success of the whole venture was assured. After strident charges and bitter recriminations had melted away into humble apologies and kindly resolutions, the problem of prejudice itself began to disappear."

At lunch each day, there were major speeches from members of each faith, broadcast over WSYR. The station was so pleased with the comments about the programs that the Goodwill Committee was offered at least half an hour a week regularly for future programs.

Each afternoon the conference split into small groups to engage in lengthy explorations of points of misunderstanding and possibilities of cooperation. These aided in accomplishing what a psychiatrist on the Syracuse committee

hoped would be the result: "A socialized purging of emotional prejudice."

The most novel discussion method was reserved for the evening meetings when speakers and local committee chairmen gathered about a U-table to give vivid conversational reports on earlier sessions. Here, with frequent and frank comments from the floor, they attempted to summarize the opinions expressed.

There was little evidence of soapy sentiment or the tempting tendency to overlook the reality of prejudice in the light of general goodwill of all those present. As Dr. Denis A. McCarthy, Boston poet and literary critic insisted, with a brogue as genial as his native Ireland:

"We are not here to reduce religion to the greatest common denominator. We are met to bring to the surface the differences that keep us apart in social and civic affairs, and by explanation and understanding to create a feeling of goodwill and mutual sympathy. We do not hope to bring in the millennium, but we do hope to lessen the sharpness and the acridness of racial and religious prejudice."

He was followed by Dr. Felix Morrow of New York, editor of the *Menorah Journal*, who said: "It must be clearly recognized that ironing out differences by talking about them is possible only where the differences are genuinely not differences, but misunderstandings. There are enough real, irreconcilable differences between Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, to make harmonious solutions gravely doubtful."

To this negative note, Dr. Herbert N. Shenton, head of Syracuse University's Department of Sociology, replied: "I admit the truth, in part, of the views of the previous speaker; but even with such conditions we can look hopefully to a better understanding and mutual helpfulness. I believe we have here the possibilities of coming together to search for the truth that will let thoughtful people cooperate for the common good. I hope we can grow a higher type of thinker

and produce a society having conscientious thought and purpose."

The mellowing effect of frank conversation was apparent in the words of Professor Walter A. Davison, who had just joined the Auburn Theological Seminary faculty after years of experience with college students of many races and faiths in Beirut and Constantinople. "The higher we climb up the mountain and the nearer we reach the summit," he said, "the nearer we come to each other."

Dr. Bernard C. Clausen, minister of the Syracuse First Baptist Church, summed up Protestant reactions to the seminar in an article which later appeared in *The Baptist*. "For the Protestants," he wrote, "certainly the high points came when, in moments of illumination, it suddenly occurred to us that we had gone on for years unintentionally detracting from the glories of Judaism during the first century, and all the centuries that followed, for the sake of providing a more vivid contrast against which to set the wisdom and glory of the Christ.

"Added to this revelation came the rather surprising discovery that Jews generally consider each Christian reference to the Crucifixion as a new accusation against the Jewish race as a whole. It was Dr. McCarthy who, speaking for his Christian brethren, made clear in an eloquent paragraph that when we thought about the Cross, we thought about our responsibility, not that of others; that to the Christian, the sins of the world were the cause of the Lord's death; and that the characteristic mood with which the Christian leaves the celebration of Good Friday, is a mood of humility and self-blame.

"Words cannot describe the great wave of emotional relief that swept over the conference when these simple things were said. And it was out of such moments as these that the Jewish lawyer quoted from Isaiah in his paraphrase: 'Blessed be the Protestants, my people; the Catholics, the work of my hands; and the Jews, my inheritance.'

"No one can live through days like these without observing how the effect of such conferences can be traced in the willingness of the people who have been inspired by them to help in other situations. The speakers who came to Syracuse so freely and willingly were people who had observed how wholesome can be the effect of such experiences elsewhere.

"As Dr. Clinchy moves across the country, blessing city after city with his own personal genius for goodwill, and his own tireless energy in the direction of deeper understanding, he is creating in his wake a following of friends who will refuse to consider personal inconvenience as a barrier toward serving such an ideal as his, wherever he may summon them."

Syracuse citizens voted unanimously at the final session to continue the local committee, elected permanent co-chairmen and immediately embarked on a program that took for its goal the transformation of Syracuse into "the town where hate must die."

Besides the conferences at educational institutions, NCCJ annually helped stage similar regional seminars far too numerous to list, as for example those held in the summer of 1936 at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, Estes Park, Colorado and Appleton, Wisconsin.

No one at NCCJ expected a single seminar or a thousand round-tables to bring Utopia to Middletown. But leaders were reached, continuing local study and program groups were encouraged and firm lines of communication were established which kept interreligious groups informed as to the problems and progress of each other. And cooperation on social tasks between Protestant, Catholic and Jew brought on fresh appreciation of cultural pluralism and laid the groundwork for NCCJ's long-range program in social education.

Devised by the wisest of educators and social scientists, these gatherings caught the nation's imagination, partly

because of the nature of the discussions, partly because their simple, unofficial and practical format was a Twentieth Century expression of such very old American institutions as the town hall meeting and the cracker-barrel confab of the country-store variety.

It is to the credit of nccj's leaders, both national and local, that no such thing as a "resolution" was passed—and this virtue has survived. A seminar was considered an occasion for study and exchange of experience—not debate. Its chief purpose was to arrive at a common understanding of the cause of difficulty. If agreement arose on desirable methods of dealing with those causes (or some of them), so much the better; but such agreement was never formulated in resolutions. The Conference felt that members, who came always as individuals and not as representatives of any organization, would know best how to apply, in their own spheres of influence, what they had learned.

The first nccj seminar on a national scale was held in Washington, D. C. in March, 1932. Directed by the three co-chairmen, Baker, Hayes and Straus, the committee of sponsors included Nicholas Murray Butler, Cleveland E. Dodge, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Arthur Curtiss James, Frederick P. Keppel, James MacDonald, Dwight W. Morrow, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Bernard J. Rothwell, Alfred E. Smith, Holward H. Swift, Paul M. Warburg and William Allen White.

The National Seminar, in which five hundred people participated, was the culmination of a score of collegiate, regional and community round-tables. It took for its theme "Religious Liberty and Mutual Understanding," appropriate enough since it followed on the heels of the celebration of the Washington Bicentennial.

Mutual understanding was linked with religious liberty, the agenda noted, because the constituency of nccj "seems" to be committed to the idea that "religious liberty is not enough"; that it is frequently only a negative matter like

tolerance; that religious groups must not only be free to pursue their faith and practices, but also that they must have channels of communication between them; that understanding is certainly possible; that some forms of community cooperation are both possible and desirable.

In 1935 there was assembled the first national Institute of Human Relations of which there were to be four. These famed sessions were biennial until 1941 (when the United States' entrance into World War II halted the program) on the campus of Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

Specifically, the first seminar was organized "to give an opportunity for leaders among Catholics, Jews and Protestants to consider thoroughly and systematically some of their common interests and concerns as citizens in American communities; and to plan community and educational programs which will result in better community relations." It was billed as "An American Adventure in Promoting Understanding and Community Cooperation."

On a hot August day in 1935, six hundred eighty-five leaders of religion, education, business and labor registered and took over Williams' halls and dormitories. That three hundred seventy-five Protestants, one hundred seventy-five Jews and one hundred thirty-five Catholics should have lived together in close and outspoken conference for an entire week was of itself unprecedented.

"Nothing like this has happened before in history," observed one church woman. She was right in more ways than one. At Williamstown, the gentlemen of the conference included a special and separate program for women. This was the first time that women were allowed to participate at an institute and it became a common practice from then on.

A more familiar aspect of such gatherings was noticed by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes. Said he: "Fundamental differences of beliefs and attitudes occasionally arose to clear

and loud stridency." Nevertheless, the Institute remained intact, laughing together with Alexander Woollcott, wrestling together with current problems under Newton D. Baker's leadership, and conversing pleasantly over teacups when Mrs. Alexander Brin and other ladies present poured.

The major aim of the conference was to develop a scientific approach to international rubs, world interracial tensions and universal religious conflicts, all of which exist on a smaller scale in the United States. A brilliant job of dissecting the issues was done by such men as then-governor of New York Herbert Lehman, Oxford Professor Robert McElroy, United States Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, City College of New York's Harry A. Overstreet, Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council, Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, and later United States Senator Paul H. Douglas, at the time an economics professor at the University of Chicago.

At Williamstown, NCCJ got its first major attention in the national spotlight. The National Broadcasting Company constructed a special broadcasting studio on the campus and donated choice evening network spots for Conference use during the six days discussion was under way.

The second Williamstown Institute of Human Relations was held in the summer of 1937 and its theme was "Public Opinion in a Democracy." NCCJ's changing approach from leadership training to mass education in its designated task was abundantly apparent. The press, radio and motion pictures, viewed as shapers of public opinion, were discussed by a wide field of competent authorities including George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion; Time Inc. Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce; the New York *Times*' Arthur Krock; Roscoe Drummond, then-executive editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; the late Fulton Oursler of *Liberty*; National Broadcasting Company's Franklin Dunham; Sterling Fisher of the Columbia Broadcasting System;

Martin Quigley, editor of *The Motion Picture Herald*; and Paramount News' William P. Montague.

In 1939, the third Williamstown Institute, organized around the subject of "Citizenship and Religion," was attended by over twelve hundred citizens. Typical forums discussed the Church's relationship to economic reform, legislation, civil liberties, education, social welfare and entertainment. The press, radio, stage and screen, labor and industry again were among fields represented.

A "first" at the 1939 session, indicating the widening circle of organizational participation in NCCJ activities, was the presence and collaboration of individuals from the Boy Scouts of America, the United States Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis International, Order of Demolay, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Knights of Columbus, Young Men's and Women's Christian Association, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ and the National Education Association.

At the 1939 meeting, too, "a new kind of approach to human problems" that resulted in "The Springfield Plan" was proposed. Widely hailed and recognized as a model method for immunizing large groups of people, both adults and children, against harmful persuasion, the Plan is described in a later section.

The fourth and final biennial Institute drew a record number of fourteen hundred Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders from thirty-six states to Williamstown to discuss "The World We Want to Live In." Held in 1941, a scant three months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, this first nationwide forum on peace objectives and postwar problems began its agenda on a realistic note: "Whether we choose it or not, a new world will issue from the current era of conflict. Its form will be determined by what responsible leaders of public opinion of every faith think and say and do together today."

A galaxy of national personalities guided the program, with the opening panel on "Inalienable Rights—Inescapable

Duties" led by a young New York district attorney named Thomas E. Dewey. The delegates fervently echoed Dewey's conclusion: "Religion must assert its leadership as a living force in the moral values of the nation. Our form of government was devised in principles flowing from deep religious conviction... Every essential of any free society springs from the concepts of morality, moral life and duties and faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Each of these is denied by the purely materialistic philosophies of totalitarianism."

"The first concern of all," said Jewish co-chairman Roger W. Straus in summing up the conference, "is that totalitarianism be crushed."

The Institute also planted a seed which produced what was then a revolutionary approach to the question of bigotry and prejudice. Presented by Dr. David M. Levy, psychiatrist, and supported by Sister Mary de Lourdes, educator, the idea was that intolerance in the future must be looked upon, not merely as a matter of misguided emotion, but as a sickness to be treated with the same techniques as any other medical and health problem of the community.

Sister Mary de Lourdes emphasized that prejudices are transmitted from adults to children "from seven months on," so that wholesome human experiences at an early age must be provided as wisely as proper nutrition and cleanliness.

Thus it was that slowly, NCCJ, which had operated in the beginning largely as an adult education movement, began to broaden its base. Leadership training in seminars and institutes and by other techniques continued, indeed in 1946, expanded to the international level. But the old concept of leadership in the American society itself had begun to change to a new idea of group-centered leadership.

NCCJ took a pioneer role in the exploration and research into the shifting roles of leadership within group situations—

an emerging concept not anticipated when the original idea was proposed for the kind of job NCCJ might do.

The creators of NCCJ came to realize that leadership in a democracy was not the leadership of a single man or of one or two political parties but that everybody, in a sense, takes on the worry and responsibility of influencing other people. The number of leaders in a democracy, they knew, is one important measure of the degree of democracy that is achieved.

By the mid-thirties NCCJ aimed its program at reaching an ever-larger number of leaders and, within the new concept, was to become a movement consciously shared in by the masses of people in the United States.

"The newspaper is the great enemy of tyrants, and the right arm of liberty, and is destined, more than any other agency, to melt and mould the jarring and contending nations of the world into . . . one great brotherhood."

2

SAMUEL BOWLES, 1851

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE was just rounding out its first five years of struggle when Louis Minsky, an English-born journalist of the Jewish faith, came to its New York headquarters with a proposal destined to change the whole dreary picture of religious news coverage in the United States.

In the early 1930's religious groups were still acting and thinking in isolated patterns. There was little communication and cooperation between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders and groups. The intergroup movement among Protestants was yet in its infancy. And generally the treatment of religious news in the press plainly reflected the times.

The objective of Minsky, a former New York correspondent for British newspapers and a regular contributor to American religious journals, was to create a news agency that would gather and distribute news and features relating to the three major faiths. As he visualized it, it would help the religious forces by disseminating accurate, well-written information about their activities and beliefs and at the same time create better understanding among them by acting as a sort of journalistic bridge.

In keeping with NCCJ's expanding role of enlisting and enlightening, encouraging and guiding the country's main-artery institutions through America's adventures in brotherhood, the idea of a cooperative, non-profit "Associated Press of Religion" was both a natural and inevitable development. Clinchy persuaded the Conference to vote a small budget for the project, and the "NCCJ News Service" went into business in 1934. For so compelling a challenge, the agency got underway in a very modest operation. It had a one-man staff—Managing Editor Minsky, who still heads the service and whose vision and driving energy has welded it into a major instrument for shaping the forces of brotherhood. The budget for the first year's operation—\$10,500—was scarcely enough to cover a major wire service's daily wire and cable charges. The first editorial service was a weekly column of a dozen or so interfaith news items mailed out free to some one hundred newspapers and religious publications.

Thoughtful press leaders like the late Edward T. Leech, *Pittsburgh Press* editor, and Cleveland *Press* Editor Louis B. Seltzer gave the infant service a cheering reception. The response from religious journals was equally encouraging; many papers among the charter subscribers began publishing news of other denominations for the first time.

Editor Minsky wound up his first year with one hundred fifty-three paying subscribers and a "renewed conviction that we have a service which is greatly needed by the press,

and that it has the potentialities for becoming one of the most powerful agencies at our disposal for the promotion of religion and intercultural understanding.”

Protestant journals soon grew to regard the service as indispensable because it was the only news agency serving the Protestant press. Leading Jewish journals used the service from the beginning, too, featuring especially news of the actions of Christian bodies with regard to anti-Semitism.

Said Minsky in an early report paralleling rumblings from Germany: “These are times when it is easy for Jews to feel that they have nothing but enemies. It would appear to be necessary to advise them of friendly action taken by the churches.”

An experienced Catholic journalist, Dr. John J. O'Connor, who later became managing editor of *The Commonwealth*, joined the staff the first year to improve Catholic news coverage and to help extend use of the service among Catholic publications. Within a couple of years, correspondents were working in the Catholic See cities of the United States. By 1937, nineteen Catholic publications were using the service, indicating an increasing confidence on the part of Catholic editors whose general inclination at the time was to avoid services not strictly and exclusively Catholic.

But despite breakthroughs on a number of editorial fronts, the going was difficult. Tough-minded editors of the secular press for the most part either didn't believe that religion was news or they thought it was too hot to handle as news. The idea that “religion is dynamite” was widely held among the nation's editorial directors.

As a result, most newspapers dealt with the religious nature of man and society by ignoring it. Editors didn't clearly understand what it was all about and they quite understandably were reluctant to disturb the public peace by airing it in their papers. Of course, there was always room for the “Henry Ward Beecher Kisses Mrs. Tilton” kind of religious-shrouded sensation. But usually there

seemed to be space for only the trivial—minor local items squeezed into the obituary page or the financial section. Despite the fact that religion intimately affects the lives and happiness of a majority of the population (church membership reached an all-time high of 92,277,129 in 1953), in those days only a Billy Sunday or an Aimee Semple McPherson could compete for the immediacy of page-one headlines.

A number of editorial eyebrows were lifted when comparative studies of reader interest of the time gave religion a significant place—ranking higher even than sex. The trouble was that the intrinsic interest of religion was not great enough to survive the dull and deadly form in which it was usually presented. Few editors attempted “to make the important, interesting.” And unless it related to some current, living interest, religious copy could not buck the competition of other forms of news crowding newspaper columns.

For these reasons, the early years were times of experimentation and slow growth for NCCJ's news service. Selling the service in the face of indifference and, often, hostility, was easy only among the editorial elite, the farseeing group that nearly always is in the minority. By and large, Minsky and his salesmen had (and still have) a tough and continuing educational job to perform, particularly among editors of dailies, many of whom still have to be convinced that religion is news and that it isn't explosive when handled intelligently.

In 1937, to more adequately describe its function, the young agency became the Religious News Service. The new name signaled the emergence of the project into the status of a national news agency more and more regarded as reflecting the voice of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious forces.

Up to 1938, Religious News Service concentrated on domestic news, but early in that year a foreign service was inaugurated. The first major move was to set up a network

of correspondents (which currently totals some four hundred contributors) in the United States and abroad. Sidney C. Luckner, RNS's chief European correspondent, established the first bureau in London. Others soon followed in key population centers around the world.

As more and more secular newspapers subscribed, RNS moved to meet the competition of other news agencies. It was no longer possible to service news twice or three times a week, so a daily service was launched. In 1943, a wire service was offered to metropolitan clients.

During World War II, RNS was able to make a unique contribution to journalism. With news sources and contacts established in prewar days, it was able time after time to scoop the regular news services and bring to American readers the dramatic details of the determined struggle of European churchmen against Nazi tyranny. Step by step, it helped to unfold the inspiring story of Norway's resistance to Quisling control. It threw the spotlight on Nazi efforts to crush Christianity in Belgium, Holland and the other occupied countries and to destroy the influence of the Orthodox Churches in the Balkans.

The men and women who watched the foreign scene for RNS also uncovered many stories neglected or minimized by the secular news agencies—stories which proved to be of vital significance in the understanding and appreciation of the religious drama which took place behind the battle-fronts. They were most successful, too, in scooping other services on stories of governments in exile—governments which in many instances made use of RNS dispatches themselves. On many occasions, RNS also took the lead in bringing the news to American readers from countries where strict censorship made it extremely difficult to obtain news of any kind.

Currently RNS processes up to fifty stories a day from all parts of the world. About two-thirds of these are domestic

stories and the rest foreign, which come in chiefly by cable and wireless.

"At the moment," Minsky says, "religious news has more prestige among newspaper editors than at any previous time in the history of the American press. There are special reasons for this. The principal one is the threat of Communism, which makes religion news in an extraordinary way because of its assault upon the churches and its threat to the religious foundations of Western society.

"The menace of Communism also has produced an insecurity which makes people turn to religion, and editors always try to be conscious of what the people want."

One important phase of RNS's foreign service is to give the best possible coverage of religious developments behind the Iron Curtain. These developments are reported largely by a group of correspondents in strategic capitals, London, Rome, Vienna and elsewhere. All broadcasts from Communist countries dealing with religion are monitored and provide many stories, particularly those relating to Communist policy and the churches.

Over the years RNS has developed many popular weekly news features. One of these is a column called *The Week in Religion*, dealing with an outstanding religious trend. Among the subjects with which the column has been concerned are the East German Communist campaign against the Evangelical Church; the status of Christianity in Japan and other Far East countries; the revival of tithing in American churches; the reaction of church leaders to moves for a Congressional probe of clergymen; religious revival movements being conducted by secular groups such as the American Legion and Junior Chambers of Commerce.

The Week in Religion has long been recognized by leading religious leaders and editors as America's top column in the field of religious news interpretation.

RNS features for the church page include an inspirational editorial, a calendar of religious events and a religious ques-

tion box dealing with controversial issues involving the three faiths. *Religious Remarkables*, a kind of religious "Believe It or Not," illustrating interesting and unusual facts about religious groups and personalities (e.g., "The circle in Christian art is an emblem of eternity, without beginning or end"), is the most popular religious cartoon in the country.

RNS also produces a fifteen-minute news script for radio called *The Religious News Reporter*, now being used regularly over more than one hundred seventy-five local stations throughout the country either as a sustaining program or under the sponsorship of local religious groups. Plans underway call for entering the television field soon with a news package for local stations.

In 1945 RNS launched the only general religious picture service in the world. It now has one of the largest religious picture morgues in existence. Some two hundred photographers in the United States and abroad handle news photo assignments speedily and efficiently. About thirty or forty newsphotos are serviced weekly along with other types of religious pictures.

With well over a million stories and other items containing information from every available source, RNS's general religious morgue is undoubtedly the most extensive in the country. Indispensable for background and checking in its own operations, RNS's reference library is regularly used by outside writers and organizations, including government departments which frequently call upon the agency to interpret religious developments in other countries.

The thriving agency now gathers and distributes religious news to more than six hundred member newspapers, magazines and radio stations with an estimated readership and audience of over fifty million people. Members, who pay as much as \$350 a month for its daily mail, wire and photo services, include not only religious publications but newspapers like the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the

Washington *Star* and the Des Moines *Register-Tribune*; and such magazines as *Time*, *Life* and *Newsweek*.

In contrast with its completely NCCJ-supported budget of \$10,500 of twenty years ago, RNS this year expects an income of about \$130,000, with an underwriting of only some \$25,000. RNS never withholds service from a publication because of its inability to pay adequate rates.

Many dailies still don't take religious coverage seriously enough. But some significant changes also have been made, reflecting a new attitude of editors toward religious news. The Toledo *Blade* some years ago inaugurated a rule that at least three RNS stories a day must appear in its news columns. A metropolitan newspaper which dropped *The Week in Religion* by mistake met with a surprising storm of protest from subscribers. The Chicago *News* not long ago attributed a substantial circulation rise to its "taking the moral trend seriously." The Dallas *News*' religious column draws more mail than any other department in the paper; the Atlanta *Constitution*'s Ralph McGill also has noted that his columns on religious topics "bring in more mail than any others I write."

The trend in most newspapers—a trend in which RNS has played a major role—is toward the use of more religious news and features, religious and moral angles in other stories, serialization of religious books, religious cartoons and pictures. One tough Chicago city editor said recently: "People would have laughed you out of town if you had run that kind of stuff in the twenties."

More and more newspapers are coming to cover religion as a regular "beat." Says Minsky: "The most important development in religious coverage during the past twenty years has been the recognition by editors that religious news should be published in the regular news sections as well as on the weekly church page. And along with this editors have recognized that coverage of religion cannot be confined to local developments—just as it is impossible to confine

coverage of science to local angles. As a result, there has been a vast increase in the amount of news of national and international religious developments published in newspapers."

The increasing recognition of religion as important news by the secular press was dramatically highlighted at the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois in the summer of 1954. Some six hundred reporters and photographers (from thirty-six countries) were on hand—three thousand had applied for accreditation. Many of the newsmen had never before written a religious story, but the amount of copy filed daily exceeded the wordage sent out from all except a few major political conventions. Said *Time*: "The meeting might be said to signal the arrival of a time in which the United States press in general recognizes that religious news has become news in the accepted city-room sense of the word."

The problem of reporting and interpreting religious tensions has probably become the chief problem facing newspapers in their religious coverage, Minsky feels. How is it possible to handle news involving many different denominations and faiths and not rub anybody the wrong way?

"It takes hard and painstaking work. We must not only be good newspapermen, but also experts in religion. We avoid propaganda of any kind. We make no attempt to water down or secularize religious stories, but at the same time make them popular without changing their meaning. We keep religious stories dignified without making them dull or superficial.

"We try to be completely objective in our reporting. We service many different outlets—daily papers, Roman Catholic diocesan weeklies, Protestant publications of every shade of opinion and theological belief, newsmagazines, radio and TV stations. But we rarely get a complaint about a story and rarely lose a client."

In the face of religious controversy in his community, an

editor can contribute to maintaining the public peace by playing up instances of interreligious cooperation and goodwill, Minsky points out. "The better the job a newspaper does on religious coverage generally, the fewer will be the evil results of religious controversy. When a newspaper covers religious activity in an intelligent and comprehensive way its stories on religious tension situations will be seen in their proper context as part of the ebb and flow of religious life."

The success of RNS in reporting religious news accurately and with a proper sense of balance and proportion was perhaps summed up best not long ago by Samuel McCrea Cavert, former general secretary of the National Council of Churches and now United States executive secretary of the World Council.

"As one who has followed the whole development of NCCJ with sympathetic interest, I should like to record the judgment that Religious News Service is the most important project that it has developed. In my opinion, RNS has made the best of all contributions to the interpretation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews to one another. At least it has given them authentic information about one another and especially about those happenings which have looked in the direction of mutual understanding."

Looking back over two decades, RNS can proudly review some new milestones in its own history as a journalistic trail-blazer. It was the first ambitious project launched by NCCJ and its oldest department. It has become the only successful news agency in the world handling news of all religions. It has earned for itself a reputation comparable in its way to that achieved by the great secular news services. And it has done a real job for NCCJ and the cause of brotherhood.

FOUR

BROTHERHOOD WEEK: DEMOCRACY'S SHOWCASE

"As an athlete, I'm not interested in the race, creed or color of my teammates. The test is simply 'can he play ball?'"

1

AL ROSEN
of the Cleveland Indians

CHRISTMAS IS A DAY of greatest joy in the Christian calendar; for those of the Jewish faith, Yom Kippur is the most sacred holy day. Comparable on the patriotic scale for all Americans is the Fourth of July, a holiday commemorating the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. At the nadir of the depression years, Father Hugh L. McMenamin, a distinguished and delightfully engaging priest, sat musing about these high points on the U. S. calendar in his study at the Catholic Cathedral in Denver.

Why, he thought, shouldn't a special period each year be set aside to celebrate a new declaration—a Declaration of Interdependence? Father McMenamin, who had taken a leading role in the establishment of an NCCJ goodwill committee in Denver back in 1929, firmly believed that brotherhood was something that all faiths wanted. And he felt that a specific time in which to focus the attention of all Americans on the problem of how to live together would provide great impetus toward the goals which NCCJ sought.

Father McMenamin's idea first took shape at an ambitious Denver round-table which developed into a two-day seminar attended by some eleven hundred people in the fall of 1931. At one of the sessions he suggested that a National Goodwill

Week, with pulpit emphasis on Friday and Sunday of that week, be held annually. The days would be a period of rededication to the principles enunciated in the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which date back in turn to the Judaeo-Christian concept of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

It would not be set aside as the one week of the year most suited to the practice of brotherhood, for the Conference held that all weeks were equally important for its practice. Rather, it would be a time of resolution and renewal, when from a thousand sources the American people drew the inspiration necessary to sustain brotherhood throughout the year.

The idea percolated through NCCJ thinking for some time and, reinforced by the enthusiasm with which communities from coast to coast greeted the first trio pilgrimages in 1933, took concrete form the following year. America, NCCJ announced, would observe its first "Brotherhood Day" on April 29, 1934, the last Sunday of the month.

NCCJ carefully defined the purpose: "The day is not to deal with doctrinal differences. It will not promote common worship. It will not suggest a weakening of anyone's religious convictions. It will deal with our relationships as citizens. The plans will suggest that the energies of Americans should be turned away from prejudice and toward joint constructive efforts . . . Brotherhood Day will make use of educational approaches to the problems of human relationships."

Even in the early stages of planning, NCCJ headquarters had word of a very widespread approval of the purpose of Brotherhood Day. From across the country telegrams and letters of endorsement were received. Laymen and clergymen, archbishop, bishop, monsignor, priest, rabbi, pastor and educator voiced much interest and assurances of hearty cooperation.

Monsignor F. S. Gassler, V. F., of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, wrote: "It is my fondest hope that the idea of a national

Brotherhood Day may be realized . . . I shall deem it an honor to cooperate."

Said Rabbi Louis L. Mann of Chicago's Sinai Temple: "The colossal challenge comes to all religions to abolish war, to obliterate poverty, to do away with diseases, to clear the slums, to stamp out superstition, to prevent juvenile delinquency, to prepare a better system of education for all, to grapple with the new problem of leisure, to make the world a more fitting place in which to live. All these call for cooperation and consecration. That is the meaning of Brotherhood Day."

Indicative of the widespread group response was a telegram from Miss Mary Duffy of the Catholic Daughters of America, saying that the organization's 200,000 members would be happy to join in the sponsorship of the first Brotherhood Day, with the express approval of their national chaplain, Bishop William J. Hafey of Scranton.

To the New York assembly of Catholic Daughters, Bishop Hafey earnestly counseled: "We of the Catholic faith have to forget much of what happened in past centuries. . . . Round about you are thousands of persons who are not members of our church. . . . For God's sake, let us forget it and remember that they, too, have souls.

"The day has come when we Catholics have got to change our tactics. We will only get results when we sit down with these people around a table and realize that they are our brothers and sisters and treat them as human beings. . . . Many differences will disappear when we face one another and realize that each is deserving of respect for the convictions he holds."

Believing that the project was in accord with the thought and spirit of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Conference explained it to him at the start and sought his endorsement. In the first and every succeeding year until his death, he gladly gave his approval and issued an invitation to the American people, without distinction of race or religion, to

join in the observance. Undoubtedly this greatly contributed to the rapidity with which the idea was accepted and spread across the nation.

Upon his accession to the Presidency, Harry S. Truman and later, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, gave similar endorsements in speech and letter to the event and served as honorary chairmen.

Despite rather short notice, some three hundred communities participated in the first Brotherhood Day, with programs centered around afternoon civic mass meetings in which local Catholics, Protestants, and Jews could engage together. Churches and schools gave special attention to the occasion too, sparked by NCCJ's new Speakers Bureau and special materials. Widely distributed for reading and signing was "A Declaration of Brotherhood" card which made brief, pointed affirmations based on the Golden Rule.

The Birmingham (Alabama) *News* summed up simply and clearly the general reaction which greeted the first Brotherhood Day: "The world needs the spirit of brotherhood today as it needs few other things. The movement which gave rise to Brotherhood Day is the right sort of approach in that direction."

For NCCJ it was a new approach, the initial step in its eventual all-out effort to alert the whole people to the truth about hate as a mental poison, not only through the help of religious and civic leaders and organizations, but also by mobilizing mass communication media.

One evidence of the need of such a movement at the time was a report by *The New Outlook* in the fall of 1934 that one hundred three organizations in the U.S. were participating in reviving race and creed hatred. Pearl S. Buck, chairman of the Woman's Advisory Council of the Conference, in the midst of helping lay plans for the second Brotherhood Day, noted early in 1935 that "We are going to have a harder time in intergroup relations in this country. The goodwill generated in good times has held over

these first five years of the depression, but now we have used up this reserve and intergroup differences are becoming attenuated."

But there were some encouraging signs. The country had just emerged from a crucial test of the spirit of fair play and the tradition of religious freedom. In the 1934 Congressional elections, two attempts were made to make political capital of anti-Semitism. Both candidates were decisively defeated by citizens who apparently had come to believe that no man should rise to public office on wings of hate. In December of that year, white National Guardsmen protected a Negro, accused of crime, from a lynch mob of fellow white people—an act basic to American liberties, but unique enough at the time to make startling headlines.

February 24, 1935, chosen as the date for the second Brotherhood Day, came two days after the birthday of George Washington, most appropriately because the first American president had on many occasions explicitly phrased ideas which NCCJ was to take as guiding principles. For example:

To the Quakers, 1789: "The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they prefer or profess."

To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island in 1797: "... Happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens ..."

Because Washington's unfailing tolerance and active goodwill stressed so well the motivations for it, Brotherhood Day

ever since 1935 has been held in the period before and after his birthday.

With the President and twenty-two state governors commending it, the second event saw the participation of nearly one thousand communities, and joint efforts of such national organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., B'nai B'rith, Amateur Athletic Union, American Jewish Committee and the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations.

Youth groups took a much more active part. A chorus of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish young men gave a musical concert over a national network. Teams of Protestants, Catholics and Jews from University of California at Los Angeles visited many Los Angeles churches and a "junior" conference was organized at Oakland. In Denver trios visited the high schools and the Epworth League joined with the Emanuel Temple Youth to present a play. In Baltimore, students participated in a poster contest for the most artistic presentation of the idea of brotherhood.

The Young People's Forum of Arlington, Massachusetts, presented *Disraeli* as part of a large-scale program. Rhode Island's Commissioner of Education distributed a pamphlet dealing with the history of religious liberty in the state and appealed to all schools to observe Brotherhood Day.

Reported the Conference: "The response to Brotherhood Day convinces us that the heart of America is sound. The average American is more susceptible to calls on his faith and his trust than to appeals to his prejudices and hates . . . Brotherhood Day has mobilized the country's goodwill. It remains for the Conference and allied bodies to direct these energies to the cooperative good works necessary to make Brotherhood a living and a glowing reality."

During the first few years the same slogan was used for Brotherhood Day—"Make America Safe for Differences." Later a different theme was adopted each year to fit the rapidly changing problems of wartime: 1941—"One Nation, Indivisible . . ."; 1942—"Now Is the Time for Men of Good-

will; Build Understanding"; 1943—"Victory for Brotherhood"; 1944—"Brotherhood or Chaos"; 1945-46—"In Peace as in War: Teamwork"; 1947-1948—"Brotherhood: Pattern for Peace"; 1949-1952—"Brotherhood for Peace and Freedom." Beginning with its twenty-fifth Anniversary in 1953, NCCJ turned all its efforts toward a continuing "inventory" and mobilization of America's "moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood."

Within five years a day would no longer encompass the vast variety of activities which came to be associated with the event, and Brotherhood Day became Brotherhood Week. In time, even that proved too short. Harold E. Stassen, the first general national Brotherhood Week chairman, in 1946, observed that the job simply could not be confined to "a week," and the following year the popular mass information and education campaign for American Brotherhood began developing into an around-the-calendar undertaking.

The late John Gilbert Winant, wartime ambassador to Great Britain, began organizing the program four months in advance when he served as chairman in 1947. But cooperating movie magnates Spyros Skouras and David O. Selznick, the Advertising Council's James Young, and newspaper, magazine and radio leaders advised a 52-week program for best effect. When the late Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson tackled the job as chairman in 1948, the drive for brotherhood reached its climax as usual the week of Washington's Birthday, but planning and preparation had begun almost a year before.

Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1949 Brotherhood Week Chairman, introduced the community brotherhood audit: "What are each town's assets and liabilities in human-relations standards? What can be done about these the rest of the year?" The 1950 Chairman, John L. Sullivan, looked upon training in justice, amity, understanding and cooperation as a 365-day task. The former Secretary of the Navy realized, however, the need for a full-dress parade once a year. Eric Johnston

held the chairmanship in both 1951 and 1952; he added a Special Gifts collection in connection with his Brotherhood Campaign. Henry Ford II led the gift program both years, succeeded in 1953 and '54 by his brother, Benson Ford. This increased the budget for the year-round efforts by a third of a million dollars annually. Roger W. Straus, Thomas E. Braniff and Ben Duffy took the Brotherhood Week chairmanship 1953, '54, '55.

Meanwhile, the annual observance was accomplishing its purpose in countless other ways. Organizations continued to integrate NCCJ ideas and methods into their own programs. In 1935-36, the YMCA, through its national organization, voted to concentrate its major attention to the NCCJ cause. In the fall of 1938, eighty YMCA secretaries met in a New England camp at their own expense for two days and devoted the entire period to discussing "How can we integrate the spirit of the NCCJ in our local YMCA programs?" Later, every one of the group joined the Conference as a contributing member.

This was in keeping with the Conference's established policy of reaching ready-made audiences on their home grounds through the cooperation of community organizations. Because more than seventy per cent of America's population are members of fraternal, civic, labor, veteran, farm, women's and youth groups, these organizations were natural allies in the crusade for decency and fuller democracy.

In 1935, advertisements for Brotherhood Day were inserted in ten denominational publications. In later years the best minds in selling and the talents of top technical experts in business campaigning turned their attention to human relations. Many of the magazines were beginning to use brotherhood symbols on their covers, and newspapers featured cartoons, special stories and editorials. More and more writers and artists were enlisted to aid with their ideas and contributions.

A Brotherhood Week poster by Artist Neysa McMein, through the cooperation of the Outdoor Advertising Association, was displayed on over eight hundred full-sized billboards throughout the country in 1941. An instance of local enthusiasm in this area occurred in Birmingham in 1945 when the local Advertising Club took over the entire promotion of Brotherhood Week, including the display of ninety-two billboards purchased and paid for by local advertisers.

Of the three out of ten causes accepted by the Advertising Council in 1946 for the postwar public services of American advertising agencies, one was NCCJ's (the others: atomic energy, world trade). This cooperation added millions of dollars in terms of air time and printed space toward Conference objectives. In the Council's "United America Campaign," special stress was laid on the distressing relationship between prejudice and national security. The Council assigned radio time allocations, distributed a fact sheet on brotherhood, distributed prepared ads. By 1950 the nation's advertisers were contributing more than \$3,500,000 annually in free advertising space and time in connection with Brotherhood Week.

In 1934, the Conference proudly announced that NBC and CBS had each carried a network show on Brotherhood Day. As early as 1936, NCCJ held a seminar which took up the possible effect of TV on education; in 1942, long before TV's commercial advent, a television program was a feature of Brotherhood Week in New York.

By 1946, the air was filled with the story of brotherhood on one hundred twenty-seven network programs, 2,140 local programs (largely based on NCCJ scripts) and via 15,452 spot announcements. Twenty years after the event was inaugurated, NCCJ programs and special messages were used in creating more than 350 million home impressions annually on radio and television.

In 1944 NCCJ inaugurated Awards of Distinguished Merit

in five categories for broadcasts contributing to the furtherance of the spirit of brotherhood, the same year received one itself from the Writers' War Board for a dramatization of *The Candle and the Gun* over CBS.

Drama, conspicuous as a disseminator of powerful ideas, is another medium long utilized by the Conference to interpret its aims. In 1938, under Marcus Bach, creator of a pageant-spectacle called *Light of Ages* which dramatized the contributions of the three great faiths to a city's life for fifty thousand people at Chicago's Centennial in 1937, NCCJ began establishing a library of material based on lives, situations and ideas vital to its program of human relations.

These royalty-free plays, at first in the form of one-acts, were widely used by local groups and later adapted for radio and television and screen use. Part and parcel of the idea was the discovery and development of capable writers and an eventual nationwide drama movement using the stage, screen and radio to present plays which, although qualified upon their own merits as to dramatic content, would reflect within their germinal plots the idea of inter-religious understanding and cooperation.

Among the earliest Hollywood projects along this line were three short subjects introduced at the 1939 Williamstown Institute: Warner Brothers' *Bill of Rights*; MGM's dramatic story of the Constitution, *Servant of the People*; and MGM's short on Lincoln, *The Perfect Tribute*. Over the years NCCJ has produced and helped commercial producers create and distribute thousands of prints of such films concerning intergroup relations. Among them: *The World We Want to Live In*, *Greater Victory*, *Don't Be a Sucker*, *The House I Live In*, *It Happened in Springfield*, *Brotherhood of Man*, *Boundary Line*, *Americans All* and *Chuck Hansen—One Guy*.

The time involved in the filming of the March of Time-produced *Americans All* in 1944 ran considerably over the budget. While re-enacting defacements of a synagogue,

church, and cathedral in New York City, the camera crew spent much of its time trying to explain to indignant spectators that it was really for the cause of good will.

A significant milestone in the use of films, as well as other mass communication media, was passed in 1946 when NCCJ initiated the American Brotherhood, a campaign to secure adherents who would pledge allegiance to the principles and practices of brotherhood.

Led by President Harry S. Truman, Harold E. Stassen, chairman, with co-chairmen Henry Noble McCracken, Basil O'Connor and David O. Selznick, the first American Brotherhood Week was the largest mass educational program ever undertaken by any civic group. The national board of governors included such men as John Foster Dulles, Chester Bowles, Solomon Guggenheim, Paul G. Hoffman, Phillip Murray, Alfred M. Landon, David Sarnoff, Beardsley Ruml, Myron C. Taylor, Alfred D. Lasker and Eric Johnston.

In an unprecedented appeal, three United States Supreme Court justices, Protestant, Jewish and Catholic, gave simultaneous public endorsement to the mobilization of the American people for brotherhood. Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter and Associate Justice Frank Murphy stressed the importance of understanding between racial and religious groups before a battery of reporters and cameramen at the Supreme Court Building.

With scarcely a month's time, a problem which stumped the board was how to reach millions of movie-going Americans during the week. Involved were: 1) getting a top producer and name stars; 2) acquiring three million feet of scarce raw film to print ten thousand three-minute trailers; 3) arranging for the laboratory work in the brief time schedule; 4) securing pledges from ten thousand theater owners that the film would be used; 5) boxing and shipping the prints to ten thousand exhibitors.

The motion picture industry came up with the answer in one of the most spectacular and dramatic examples of

cooperation in NCCJ history. Spyros P. Skouras of Twentieth Century Fox served as chairman for the Motion Picture Division for American Brotherhood, with Sam Shain of his staff as executive assistant; J. Robert Rubin of Loew's Inc. was vice-chairman.

Selznick, head of Selznick Studios, secured Dore Schary to write the script and produce *The American Creed*, starring Ingrid Bergman, Eddie Cantor, Katharine Hepburn, Van Johnson, Jennifer Jones, Walter Pidgeon, Edward G. Robinson, Jimmy Stewart and Shirley Temple.

This bright constellation of stars appeared on the screen to give their reasons for joining the American Brotherhood. Edward G. Robinson read the pledge to practice brotherhood and Jimmy Stewart invited persons in the audience to sign it. In this and succeeding years, motion picture theaters cooperated in interesting many millions of people in brotherhood.

The motion picture industry did this miracle for American Brotherhood in 30 days—producing, distributing and exhibiting *The American Creed* to an applauding audience of 85 million people.

It was a climactic movement in a story leading all the way back to that scene in Hollywood in the mid-thirties when Everett Clinchy and Morris Lazaron convinced Louis B. Mayer that supporting the NCCJ ideal might one day be considered the industry's greatest contribution to democracy.

Moving pictures which face the problem of intergroup conflict in America squarely were, nevertheless, a long time in arriving on the screen. The bogey of "bad box office" was perhaps the greatest stymie.

Before *Collier's* published *Gentlemen's Agreement*, Laura Hobson's moving story of the experiences of a writer who assumed the role of a Jew and discovered how it hurt to take the unconscious and sometimes conscious barbs of hostility toward a person who is Jewish, the editors sent galleys to NCCJ and asked for a reaction. The Conference

and individuals approached encouraged its publication and commended the magazine for its courage. Afterward Darryl Zanuck decided to film the story.

When Laura Hobson later asked him why, Zanuck, son of a Methodist minister, came up with a somewhat personal reason: "I did not want my son, when he grows up, to be able to say: 'Dad, what were you doing twenty-five years ago when you were a big shot in Hollywood? Why didn't you do what you could against intolerance and hate, to show the dignity of human beings?'"

Zanuck made his decision on his own, as an individual; although he had worked with the Conference through the years, he sought no encouragement there. Yet NCCJ undoubtedly played a real if intangible role in the decision. Approached through the years by leaders of the three faiths, producers and directors grew to realize the importance of the problem and accept the fact that if they were going to deal with real-life situations, they could not escape problems like *Gentlemen's Agreement*.

Perhaps even more important, to the extent that the Conference has helped to produce a climate of opinion in which people are not only sensitive to the problems of brotherhood but are willing to discuss and write about them, NCCJ has given confidence and conviction to motion picture producers and writers in dealing with formerly taboo subjects.

The public response to *Gentlemen's Agreement* startled even Zanuck. It also set off an historic series of films dealing constructively with religious cooperation and race relations.

On the Broadway stage, where writers have always felt more at home in dealing with social tensions, long-time friends and speakers for the Conference time after time have adapted the idea of brotherhood to the vernacular of the popular song and situation. To Oscar Hammerstein II, "Brotherhood is the greatest of all realities, and the literal

practice of it would be the one broad and basic solution for our worst problems."

Among the lyrical contributions of Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers toward that solution was *Carefully Taught*, a song from the smash hit *South Pacific*, which begins: "You've got to be taught to hate and fear..." *Getting to Know You* from *The King and I* is another example.

Maxwell Anderson's production of the Kurt Weil musical *Lost in the Stars* (based on Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*) was another Broadway play in which NCCJ had a direct influence because of its friendship with the author and producer. (NCCJ, Anderson said recently, "is the only organization I know that is trying to find a cure for the most terrifying disease of our time—racial hate.") The way in which Robert Sherwood and Irving Berlin used the problem of the immigrant in *Miss Liberty* is another instance of NCCJ encouragement in bringing brotherhood to Broadway.

Berlin gave the Conference carte blanche use of *God Bless America* for Brotherhood Day in 1936. His *Help Me to Help My Neighbor*, and sprightly tunes such as Irving Caesar's *Sing a Song of Friendship* and Hy Zaret and Lou Singer's *Little Songs on Big Subjects*, have been rendered far and wide at mass meetings, in schools and on the air.

By both conference and correspondence, NCCJ has kept in close touch with writers in all fields. In recent years, radio and television networks regularly have called on NCCJ for guidance in the handling of scripts. Two weeks before the Ford Theatre produced *The Nativity*, for example, the Conference was asked to look over the script to see if anything in it might offend the sensitivities of any particular group. Soap operas with their enormous audiences also continually draw on NCCJ advice and help in dealing with everything from the interpretation of Biblical stories to dramatic situations involving the stickiest of intergroup dilemmas.

Superman, whose hair-raising adventures on radio, tv and in the comic strips are a favorite with children, has

for many years worked hard at inculcating intergroup understanding in the young. NCCJ officials, who serve with other advisers on the program, proposed the idea of Superman's Unity Club, wherein boys of different faiths and races mixed amicably. Another suggestion was the inclusion of a Chinese boy on the Unity Club's baseball team.

Again, while NCCJ considers such consultation important, the real significance lies in the recognition by the top networks, producers and writers that the Conference is in business with a specific job which it is competent to perform. Because their own sensitivity is attuned to the quick perception and rejection by current-day audiences of phony and inaccurate presentations, they turn to the Conference for guidance.

Especially in the period of planning for Brotherhood Week, mass media people, along with educational, religious and civic leaders, have come not only to expect materials and contacts from NCCJ people, but to have already begun their own programming before any approach is made. There is a responsiveness, a readiness, based on the fact that Brotherhood Week, despite its recent origin, has become a part of the milieu—an American institution that shares with the great holidays in the celebration of a way of life which fulfills some of man's deepest needs: the need to belong, the need to love and to be loved, and the need to share in the on-going life of the community.

The first World Brotherhood Week was held in 1951. Today the occasion is observed in upwards of ten thousand communities, including many which have adapted the idea with no prompting from NCCJ. It is endorsed by the governors of all forty-eight states and many mayors. Activities vary from public stands taken against the West Coast segregation of Japanese, Filipinos and Mexicans to a program by New Haven housewives called "Taste What's Cooking in Your Neighbor's Kitchen."

In early years, Badges of Tolerance were distributed to

ten million people; as a goodwill stunt, priests, rabbis and ministers "buried the hatchet" in public. Similar methods are still used to spotlight brotherly habits. In Cleveland, the first baby born on the day is presented with a scroll naming the child Brotherhood Baby of the year—a perfect symbol of brotherhood, free from prejudice and bigotry.

In Washington, D. C., the "Bells of Brotherhood" of the Protestant and Catholic churches ring in unison beginning at seven o'clock at the close of the Jewish Sabbath and on the eve of the Christian one as a symbol of the Week's meaning. In St. Louis, bus passes with the brotherhood theme printed upon them reach thirty thousand people. At the opening of Brotherhood Week in Philadelphia in 1950, "William Penn" in costume, accompanied by Dodger star Roy Campanella and Olympic swimmer Joseph Verdeur, visited a dozen of the city's schools and obtained the pledges of thirty thousand children to practice brotherhood throughout the year.

But the significance of Brotherhood Week's growth is measurable in more important ways. An example of increasing participation is the Wisconsin Plan, under which Brotherhood Week committees are organized on a county-by-county basis, with both district and state committees assisting.

One man who played a key role in developing the statewide program was the Catholic head of a reputedly anti-Semitic investment house in a small Midwest community. When he was first persuaded to accept the chairmanship of the local Brotherhood Week celebration several years ago, it was the first time he had ever "stood up for an idea." In succeeding years he took on bigger and bigger jobs, expending more and more of his own time and money. In explaining why, he would frequently refer to the fact that some of the men in his organization didn't like Jews.

To help convince his suspicious employees that neither race nor religion were criteria for honesty and trustworthi-

ness, he made a major loan to a Jewish school. Within a few years he changed from a man willing to pay only lip service to the cause of brotherhood to an outspoken advocate of fair employment practices, a speaker on dozens of programs every year and a member of NCCJ's national board.

A change has come about, too, in the nature of Brotherhood Week activities, which formerly tended toward speech-making at banquets and other festive occasions, where the right things were always said at the exhortation level with the emotional impact limited to making people feel good without actually talking about real problems.

Emphasis has been steered more and more toward institutes and workshops where problems are resolved down to the brass-tack level with a view to harnessing community leadership for action. Highlight of Brotherhood Week in Pittsburgh recently was a housing seminar, at which concrete community plans were formulated. Detroit and Windsor's PTA organizations, in a collaboration between NCCJ and the Canadian Council, seriously tackled the problems parents face in raising children of goodwill.

In 1951 NCCJ integrated its efforts with the press, radio, television, motion pictures and magazines. At that time a Commission on Mass Communications was formed. Recently its chairman, Harold E. Fellows, had this to say about the Commission's work:

"The media of mass communications have become increasingly conscious of their obligations to the American people. They have largely broken down old barriers, destroyed old shams and pretenses, and called the nation's attention to issues that once were hush-hush, issues that were privately admitted but publicly ignored.

"Hatreds, discriminations, religious intolerances were once such issues, lumped in the same category with other untouchable subjects such as social diseases. The Commission is continuing and intensifying its efforts to bring an awareness

of the serious problems of group relations to the attention of writers, editors, publishers and broadcasters."

An illustration of both network and audience approval and acceptance of interreligious programming occurred in the spring of 1954. When Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's popular *Life Is Worth Living* program went off the air and was replaced by *The Goldbergs*, TV critic Jay Nelson Tuck called it "one of the most heartwarming things about this country." The DuMont Network had been doubtful of the reception that a story of Jewish family life in the Bronx would receive in place of the talks of a Roman Catholic bishop. But 160 of 164 stations which carried the bishop's program, asked if they would be agreeable to carrying *The Goldbergs* at the same hour, welcomed the replacement. It was by far the largest number of stations assembled for a spring-summer show.

NCCJ statistics on "listener impressions," audio-visual impacts and readership of material on brotherhood are tremendously impressive. But numbers are stark and heartless. Does all this bombardment through mass media have any real effect in changing the attitudes of people? "A hackie we know," columnist Murray Robinson wrote in the New York *World Telegram and Sun*, "long exposed to wireless pleas for tolerance, recently intoned: 'Us Ebbets Field fans give every player a hand regardless of race, creed or cruller.'"

Murray's taxi driver friend apparently had picked up the idea if not the vocabulary of good will. Most social scientists, however, are frankly doubtful about the conviction behind such impressions. Yet they are equally frank about admitting that methods for measuring change are still in their infancy.

The Conference makes no pretentious claims about changing attitudes. But it can justifiably and accurately document its case that through the support of mass media during Brotherhood Week, and to an even greater extent in other channels of its year-round program, it does "divert" attitudes.

In *The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions*, the distinguished Harvard psychologist Gordon W. Allport says that many approaches are necessary in the fight against prejudice and warns against the peril of falsely assuming that intergroup tension is a surface phenomenon.

"Ultimately," he concludes, "there is no solution to the problem of intergroup tensions excepting the inner growth of serene and benevolent persons who seek their own security and integrity not at the expense of their fellowmen, but in concert with them. . . .

"What is needed is emphasis upon national and international solidarity, community welfare and common moral codes. While preaching and exhortation may play their part in the process, the lesson will not be learned at the verbal level alone. It will be learned in muscle, nerve and gland by child and adult only when it is worked out through participant citizenship."

While NCCJ feels that the observance of Brotherhood Week is but an incident in a very practical, down-to-earth continuing program designed to change social habits by working with the trunk lines of human conduct, it also is convinced that its mass media statistics illustrate a change on the intellectual level necessary for progress. Such statistics show that every year an increasing number of people begin thinking in new and fairer terms about other human beings in culture groups that are different.

That isolationism between religious cultures is giving way on the civic level to cooperation is an accepted fact. NCCJ has helped to bring this about in the habit area by strengthening the American custom of Christian-and-Jew association in common endeavor. Program statistics (e.g., 65 thousand last year), indicate how, by repetition and persistent continuation, every NCCJ supporter has helped to bring about a major social change in this century.

By contributing importantly to the changing climate of opinion in U.S. communities, NCCJ has helped make preju-

dice, or its expression in discrimination against one group or another, not only unpopular and unsupported but more important, outlawed within the legal framework of many communities.

In this changing climate, democracy's "show" week has served significantly. As the New York *Journal-American* has observed: "Today there is hardly a town in America so small or a church so unimportant where the annual Brotherhood observance fails to find men and women of good-will participating. America is better today and stronger, because of Brotherhood Week."

FIVE

MISSIONARIES OF BROTHERHOOD

"Nothing in the world can take the place of persistence. The slogan 'Press On' has solved and always will solve the problems of the human race."

I

CALVIN COOLIDGE

BITTER DAYS HAD FALLEN upon the southeast Texas city of Beaumont. With tolerance at a new low in the years following World War I, the revived Ku Klux Klan was riding high. Fiery crosses burned regularly and floggings of both white and Negro and other atrocities were an accepted occurrence. Like a fog rolling in from the Gulf of Mexico, hate and fear permeated the city.

The bitterness had encroached upon the brotherhood of the fraternal lodges, in the civic clubs and in the churches. Even the clergymen courageous enough to battle the terrorism were threatened. While the struggle went on, almost every man in the city was tagged a Klansman or an anti-Klansman. There was hardly a middle road to take.

That there is no middle ground between morality and immorality was the firm conviction of one Beaumontier who deplored the situation. Hastings Harrison, young, red-headed, dynamic general secretary of the city's YMCA, decided to take decisive action. Speaking before the Rotary Club, he made a fiery and dramatic appeal for the renewal of the old Beaumont spirit of civic unity and brotherhood.

"He mentioned neither Klan nor anti-Klan," Dean Tevis of the Beaumont *Enterprise* said, writing of the event several years later. "He scourged provincialism, partisanship and

bigotry, and the result was like a Methodist revival. With his last word the great dining room in the city's leading hotel was in a furore. Men not only shook his hands, but they shook each other's hands, and there were tears in some eyes.

"Harrison, in twenty-five minutes on his feet, had done what no one else had been able to do. Men threw their arms around each other and vowed friendship. From that day the bitterness began to disappear and soon was gone. Newspapers of Beaumont ran the address in full. As long as Klan bitterness is recalled here, Harrison will be remembered. When he moved . . . Beaumont lost not only one of its most useful citizens, but one of its most interesting men—a man who established friendships where there had been bitter enmity."

Harrison, a native Texan, born in 1894, spent most of his boyhood on a small blackland farm at Myra, Texas. All his life he has had an intimate and uneasy familiarity with expressions of prejudice and bigotry ranging from lynchings to such outbursts of misguided civic pride as signs boasting "The Blackest Land and the Whitest People."

He taught school, then turned to a twenty-three-year career in the YMCA in Corsicana, Beaumont and Tulsa, Oklahoma. This led to his chief life's work with the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

His opportunity to reunite the broken citizenship of Beaumont set the pattern for his future life. "I have always abhorred bigotry and intolerance, and the stereotyping of human beings," Harrison says. "When I saw the finest people in the world torn asunder in Beaumont by the Ku Klux Klan, I determined that in the future my major effort regardless of my vocation would be to promote brotherhood among all men." Near the heart of his philosophy in bringing about better human relations is a Calvin Coolidge quote on the omnipotence of persistence and determination. A copy of the lines lie beneath the glass top of his desk as a daily reminder.

The eyes of Texas were first focused on NCCJ when the original trio—Father J. Elliot Ross, Rabbi Morris Lazaron and Clinchy—visited Dallas in 1933. Arriving in “Big D” at 7:45 on the morning of December 8, the men rushed through breakfast and interviews before heading for a round-table of one hundred fifty people in Kirby Hall under the auspices of the Southern Methodist University School of Theology.

A luncheon session at the Baker Hotel drew ninety Texas leaders, chiefly laymen, of all three faiths. Among those present was one of the state’s most beloved citizens, Dr. George W. Truett, pastor of Dallas’ First Baptist Church for more than fifty years and president of the World Baptist Alliance for several years before his death.

“The movement to promote justice, amity and better understanding is, in my humble judgment, a movement that should enlist the fullest sympathy of every American citizen,” Dr. Truett said after the meeting. “The feeling of all of us who attended was and is that such meetings cannot fail to prove of great benefit to all classes of our citizenship.”

In the evening, some twelve hundred Dallasites warmly applauded the trio’s conversational presentation of the problems of prejudice and Rabbi Lazaron’s summing up: “We don’t feel that we are going to remodel the minds of Americans in a seven-week tour. We hope to set in motion certain influences of education which over a period of years will be effective in at last introducing people of this generation to understanding. We feel that it is not we who will bring about this wide-spread change, but the idea itself.”

Dallas lost no time in getting its educational “influences” in action. A motion was made by the Reverend Floyd Poe, long-time pastor the City Temple Presbyterian Church and now a widely read columnist of the *Dallas Morning News*, to organize an NCCJ round-table in Dallas. Before the meeting closed, it was voted unanimously.

Recognizing the need for greater unity in the nation, a group of outstanding civic leaders sparked by the late Henri

Bromberg, Sr., met in Dallas in 1938 and initiated the movement for a southwestern division. John W. Carpenter, who headed the committee, filed a petition which met with highly favorable response at NCCJ headquarters. When, the following year, the office was opened, Carpenter became the general chairman and E. P. Simmons, Lawrence Pollock and Bryce Twitty were named the first co-chairmen.

Harrison was just rounding out nine years of work at the Tulsa YMCA when the urgent request came from Herman P. Taubman, with whom he had served on NCCJ's national board for two years, the late Most Reverend Francis C. Kelley, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Oklahoma, the Dallas leaders and Clinchy to take over NCCJ work in the Southwest. Harrison, a Methodist steward who had grown to respect and affectionately admire his Catholic and Jewish friends, gladly accepted. But the YMCA refused to take his resignation, and listed him for several years as consulting secretary on loan to the Conference.

Roughly one-tenth of the American population is concentrated in the Southwestern Division. Before 1939, NCCJ reached the 15 million people in this immense geographical sector as best it could. Starting from scratch, Harrison organized a program on a financially sound basis that today is felt in drought-struck areas where even cactus is reluctant to grow.

His long experience and close friendship with Southwestern leaders proved especially valuable in getting important people behind his program. Among the great and devoted volunteers who helped blaze the trail for the Southwest's adventures in brotherhood were men like Taubman, Sam S. Miller and William G. Skelly of Tulsa and J. H. Phelan, Sr., of Beaumont.

The late Herbert Mallinson, prominent Dallas lumberman, oilman and philanthropist, at his own expense flew with Harrison all over the Southwest to help organize and raise funds. T. Austin Gavin, Catholic lay leader of Tulsa, and W.

Emmett Sampson, oil executive of Houston (where John T. Scott and Mrs. Max H. Nathan led in establishing the first Southwest chapter), also made trips to cities large and small to help establish NCCJ round-tables. H. P. Taubman, perhaps more than any other person, crusaded and was responsible for the origin of the NCCJ plan for "districts" across the country.

Within ten years contributors in the original eight-state area (Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico and the western half of Missouri) increased from one hundred to twenty thousand. More than one hundred chapters, along with hundreds of volunteer committees, had been formed; and sub-divisional offices established in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, New Orleans, Kansas City, Oklahoma City and Wichita, Kansas, with part-time secretaries in other strategic cities.

It was during these busy days that Harrison earned the accolade of "Brotherhood's Traveling Salesman." His countless engagements earned him a wide reputation as a public speaker. And there was one thing of which an audience could always be certain about a Harrison speech. Regardless of the title of his address, his theme was always the same: Brotherhood.

After being named NCCJ's first vice-president in 1944, Harrison hit the national brotherhood trail many times, visiting such cities as Detroit, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, Atlanta, Augusta, and Birmingham.

Harrison was also the first person to carry NCCJ's story to Henry Ford II in Detroit. In April, 1945, Harrison, accompanied by Joseph Q. Mayne, then NCCJ's Michigan director, Michigan Circuit Court Judge Joseph A. Moynihan and the late Honorable Alvin Hirsch, sat down with John Bugas and Ford in his office. The session lasted for two hours, and was the beginning of the interest and major role Henry Ford II was to have in the Conference in later years.

But Harrison's chief efforts were directed among the

people he knew best. The Southwest Division quickly developed into a strong right arm of the Conference, extending and expanding the entire NCCJ program to schools and colleges, churches and synagogues, civic and community organizations.

Typical of Vice-President Harrison's talents for following through was the first Southwest Institute of Human Relations held at SMU in 1940. Instead of confining the sessions to the campus, he formed trios of speakers and delegates—clergymen, attorneys, social workers, a traveling salesman, a newspaper columnist, YMCA secretaries, oil tycoons—and booked speaking tours through sixteen East Texas towns from the piney woods to the black land belt. Reports of the institute were thus carried to an additional seventy thousand people.

The same year Harrison helped stage the first interreligious programs ever held in the state of Arkansas. In 1940, too, the KKK's old stomping ground, Beaumont, observed Brotherhood Week with a spirit and gusto that succeeded in bringing six hundred citizens of various faiths to a dinner. The city set a record in community support by subscribing over two thousand dollars within forty-eight hours and launched an extensive local NCCJ program.

A vivid moment in the history of Catholic support of NCCJ aims came in 1944 when the Roman Catholic bishops of Texas and Oklahoma, headed by the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, wrote and signed a statement on cooperation which read in part:

"Since the time of the great Leo XIII our Supreme Pontiffs have recognized the need of organized collaboration by all men of good will for an effective transformation of human society in the field of political, economic and social well-being. . . .

"Our collaboration with men of good-will must be organized, and fortunately there are among us numerous societies and groups deserving of our support. . . . The National Conference of Christians and Jews—a civic organization—seeks

to overcome bigotry, to draw citizens together in the bonds of fraternal charity, to protect the rights of all men sincerely, to believe and practice what God has taught without punishment or persecution and to create a spirit of good-will and fair play in the sense that a man's dignity and personality must be respected even if his religion cannot be accepted. Every thoughtful man, every good citizen, should support such objectives."

On the anti-Semitic front, Harrison's persistence has helped clear up many a nasty situation. The editor of a newspaper in a Southwestern town once made attacks against the Jews which threatened to poison the social relations of the whole community. Harrison began a long and determined campaign to set the editor straight in his thinking. No miracle occurred, but the editor gradually was made to realize the evil of disseminating misinformation and, occasionally, has gone so far (for him) as to promote understanding between the different faiths in his newspaper columns.

One of the most chafing albatrosses worn about the collective neck of the forces of interreligious good will in the Southwest is a seemingly affable and scholarly professor of English at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Soon after World War II, persistent and recurrent reports began to circulate that Dr. John Owen Beaty, Ph.D., author and SMU faculty member for thirty-five years, was making speeches and writing in an inflammatory manner against Jews, at times using his diatribes in the classroom.

With the publication of his privately printed book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, in 1951, Dr. Beaty confirmed in his own words the doubts which had arisen about him in the minds of men of good will both at the University and throughout the Southwest. Hate groups were quick to hail the volume; race-baiter Gerald L. K. Smith called it "the most sensational book of this generation."

The Dallas *Morning News* called it "the worst book" of the year, and SMU law professors denounced it as a collection of

"spurious doctrines and bigoted theories of racial and religious prejudice."

In 1953, in a privately printed pamphlet titled *How to Capture a University*, Dr. Beaty attacked SMU itself, decrying the "certain, powerful, non-Christian element in our population" which is trying to "infiltrate" the University. Most of the activities Beaty condemned were those in which SMU had long cooperated with organizations of the Jewish faith and NCCJ.

NCCJ came under attack specifically for cooperating with SMU in a summer workshop in human relations directed by Dr. Sterling Brown. Beaty wrote: "Note the name of the conference which co-sponsors the brainwashing to which eight categories of leadership people—teachers, guidance workers, principals, superintendents, curriculum directors, school psychologists, social and religious workers—are invited to submit." (One of the "brainwashed" teachers who attended the workshop earlier had called it "more stimulating and challenging than any experience I have ever had.")

By a vote of one hundred fourteen to two, SMU's faculty was quick to condemn Beaty's charges as being "without any foundation in fact." This position was sustained shortly thereafter by a formal vote of the Board of Trustees. Also quick to protest were seven leading Protestant ministers of Dallas: The Rev. Luther Holcomb, pastor of the Lakewood Baptist Church and a member of NCCJ's Commission on Work with Religious Organizations; Dr. Jaspar Manton (Trinity Presbyterian Church); Dean Gerald Moore (St. Matthew's Episcopal Cathedral); the Rev. Tom Shipp (Lovers Lane Methodist Church); Dr. Arthur G. Swartz (First Congregational Church); and Dr. W. A. Welsh (East Dallas Christian Church).

The group joined in a statement to Dr. Umphrey Lee, then SMU president, to express "outraged Christian conscience" over Beaty's "inflammatory and divisive writing" and the "grave injustice which we believe has maligned the spirit,

motives and deeds of an important segment of our citizenship . . . We earnestly protest against the attacks and insinuations impugning the loyalty, the patriotism and the good faith of our Jewish fellow citizens."

The Beaty incident put to the test the objectives for which NCCJ had been striving for fifteen years in the Southwest. The action of the Protestant ministers, all active in the work of the Conference, was one in a sequence of denunciations of the anti-Semitic outburst which proved NCCJ's strength as a force for justice, fair play and human decency.

Recently the Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council paid a tribute, in the form of a resolution, to the "magnificent contribution to the cause of good interfaith relations which the NCCJ, under the able and devoted leadership of Hastings Harrison, has been making in this region and elsewhere . . ."

The Battle of Beaty goes on; there will always be a Beaty. But because each year NCCJ continues its efforts to encourage and mobilize men of good will, the Beatys find themselves farther and farther out on the limb of bigotry, sawing away in increasing loneliness.

With non-segregation now the law of the land, the Southwest Division shares with other areas new problems and challenges. The NCCJ has always recognized that there can be no color lines in a true brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God; it has insisted that Protestants, Catholics and Jews of all colors and races should have an opportunity to work together in the Conference for interreligious fellowship and against bigotry and intolerance. Within this concept of racial relations, the persistence of NCCJ workers is helping to pave the way along this bumpy road to brotherhood. A later chapter examines NCCJ accomplishments in this field in some detail.

One of the big events of the year in Dallas since 1942 is a city-wide Thanksgiving program with Protestant, Catholic and Jewish participants. Sponsored by NCCJ and virtually

every organization in the city, it attracts some twenty-two hundred people to the Palace Theater annually.

In 1952, the report of the North Texas Region notes, "... on the repeated insistence of Mr. Harrison, the Executive Board adopted a policy of observing this celebration on a community-wide basis. In 1951 five outstanding Negro leaders were invited and occupied places on the platform and whenever questions were asked whether Negroes were to be admitted, the answer had been in the affirmative."

At the 1952 meeting, seven Negro leaders were invited to sit on the platform. One of the group, the Reverend Ernest C. Estell, D.D., delivered the invocation and personally signed invitations which went to a selected list of two hundred Negro citizens inviting their attendance. "The response," a report noted later, "was somewhat disappointing, but there were a number of Negroes in the audience and they were seated without discrimination. No appreciable criticism was given."

Under the able direction of T. H. McDowell, director of nccj's Oklahoma Region, remarkable progress has also been made in that area in reducing interreligious and interracial tensions. There has been no major misunderstanding between Protestants and Catholics in two decades, and relations between the two groups in the state are almost without equal anywhere in the U.S. There has been a marked reduction in anti-Semitism as well, particularly in Tulsa, which once had the reputation for being the Southwest's leading incubator of attacks on Jews.

Over the past few years, citizens of all faiths and races—white, Negro and Indian—have met together in full and cordial fellowship in the leading hotels of Oklahoma City and Tulsa at Brotherhood Dinners honoring such men as Thomas E. Braniff, Aaron Weitzenhoffer, T. Austin Gavin and W. G. Skelly. The nccj pattern of interreligious and, inevitably, of interracial cooperation is being

generally adopted by Oklahoma's religious, educational and civic organizations.

Says McDowell: "One word largely tells the story of the effectiveness of the NCCJ program: friendship. . . . The results we have achieved are intangible but real. In many instances, NCCJ does not get credit for its work because we recommend the principles and programs to be initiated by leaders and integrated into organizations. Someone said, 'A great deal of good can be done in this world if you do not care who gets the credit.' Perhaps this is a major reason why it is difficult to finance the NCCJ."

The development of divisional offices, such as that headed by Hastings Harrison in the Southwest, is of fairly recent origin. Actually, Clinchy and a stenographer were the NCCJ staff from 1928 to 1932, when Dr. Robert A. Ashworth, editor of *The Baptist*, became educational secretary and the second member of the staff.

Dr. Ashworth, whose ever-ready wit ("I can tell a man to go to hell in a perfectly Christian way") and enormous patience ("The last time I was angry was twenty years ago; I can't recall why") soon won him the title of NCCJ's "spiritual dean," had been active in many movements for inter-religious cooperation. His previous activities included service as president of the Quill Club, board member of the Federal Council, contributing editor of *The Christian Century*, twice delegate to the World Conference on Faith and Order and member of the American Committee for Christian Refugees and the American Committee of the World Council of Churches.

In the early days, Dr. Ashworth served as a man-of-all-tasks, especially arduous ones. He wrote and distributed news releases before the inauguration of the present service, developed interfaith radio shows, wrote a steady stream of articles, pamphlets and books, worked on regional seminars, helped organize round-tables and served for many years as Brotherhood Week secretary.

During the first seven years of its history, NCCJ depended chiefly upon part-time workers. Among those who contributed in the early days to the Conference's extension to national proportions were: Harvey Potthoff in Colorado; Harry Kingman in California; George Collins in Wisconsin; Paul N. Faris in Pennsylvania. Benson Y. Landis, of the Federal Council, in 1933 worked on special research projects and has continued to do so over the years.

Rachel Davis DuBois, then of NYU, started the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations out of which developed the Bureau for Intercultural Education. It was in 1934 that Mrs. Abel Gregg prepared the earliest educational material issued by NCCJ. The same year, Herbert L. Seamans of Seattle, who later was to head NCCJ's educational commission, and Andrew W. Gottschall of Baltimore, who headed the first Southern Region, became part-time workers.

"Men make the roads. Women teach children to walk in them."

2

FRENCH PROVERB

THE ACTUAL NATIONWIDE EXTENSION of NCCJ work under the direction of paid staff members began with the establishment of a Chicago office in 1935. Its director, until 1948, was Dr. James M. Yard, a man small in stature but a giant in spirit. The firm establishment of NCCJ roots in the Midwest is a memorial to his wise statesmanship and fearless conviction; his work there also set a pattern which was followed in most of the other areas of the United States.

It was rugged going at first, for Yard labored in the field of human relations when men in this work were constantly smeared as Communists and subversives. The depression, too, made financing difficult, and Nazi propaganda of the

mid-thirties stirred the fires of anti-Semitism and made the program unpopular.

But there were courageous men who spoke clearly for the cause of brotherhood, even in those trying days. The original chairmen of the Chicago Round-Table were Albert D. Lasker, Charles G. Dawes and John P. McGoorty. At a recent NCCJ dinner, Rabbi Louis Mann paid this tribute to the late Judge McGoorty, for eighteen years the Catholic co-chairman in Chicago: "John McGoorty knew that poverty is not Protestant, cancer is not Catholic, injustice is not Jewish. . . . He knew, too, that nobody has a monopoly on the virtues of civilization . . . that righteousness is non-sectarian . . . that creed is best evidenced in deed."

The first year in Chicago was a small beginning—a few luncheons were held and some forty-five meetings arranged for churches and schools. Soon a women's committee was organized, along with a program department and a speaker's bureau. The first Institute of Human Relations was held in 1937.

The following year Leonard P. Aries began a series of popular discussion programs in high schools from which his widely-used book, *Let's Talk It Over*, derived. (Aries became director of NCCJ's Washington, D. C., region sixteen years later.) Within ten years the office was sponsoring hundreds of programs annually with the help (at no fee) of some two hundred fifty speakers of all faiths. In 1953, the NCCJ in Chicago sponsored over eight hundred meetings, twelve conferences for over two thousand community leaders, and brought two nationally known social scientists to Chicago to headline a series of meetings attended by over fifteen hundred school administrators and other people in positions of authority on how to change attitudes.

The spread of NCCJ's influence was gradual but firm. In the early days, the director of the mayor's committee turned more and more for help to the Chicago Round-Table be-

cause, he said, "... you have the technique and you have the full confidence of the entire Chicago community."

The range of its activity is indicated by a list of only a few of the groups that through the years regularly have sought advice and help from the Chicago office: the Church Federation of Greater Chicago; the Chicago Rabbinical Association; the Civil Liberties Committee; the Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination; the Chicago Library and its 60 branches; the Conference of Club Presidents (with 400 affiliated groups); the Anti-Defamation League; the American Jewish Congress; the Adult Educational Conference of Chicago; the Council of Social Agencies; the principal radio and television stations; labor unions; the Traffic Club of Chicago; the American Legion; the Parent-Teachers' Associations; the Lions, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs; and high schools, private schools, colleges, teachers' colleges, universities and theological seminaries.

During Brotherhood Week in 1944, then-Governor Dwight H. Green issued a proclamation and recorded a broadcast given to most Illinois governmental departments. Many state commissions and services recessed to listen, and the Department of Labor held a special meeting at which five hundred workers heard a trio team provided by NCCJ. It was the first time in history that a state government ceased work to participate in a demonstration for brotherhood.

One project of the Chicago office which attracted national attention during Brotherhood Week was to serve as host for twenty-four students and one teacher from each of forty public schools in Chicago, Evanston and Winnetka at the play, *Tomorrow the World*. The only condition was that each student must write a letter to an imaginary child in Germany giving his reaction to the play and stating why he believed democracy was to be preferred to totalitarianism.

The contest stimulated considerable discussion in the schools as well as the press. At its conclusion the star of the play, Paul McGrath, called attention to the fact that in Nazi

Germany three of the winners (who were chosen by number) would have been put in concentration camps, sterilized or murdered: one was a Jew, one a spastic cripple and the other a Negro youngster.

During this time, Director Yard was not only working on a far-reaching program for the five million citizens of Greater Chicago, but traveling from Pittsburgh to Duluth and from Cleveland to St. Louis and Des Moines, stimulating the efforts of volunteer committees until he could sell the communities on the idea of financing their own local work under a full-time director.

Other regional heads eventually adapted Yard's techniques for expansion and in the late thirties and early forties, the NCCJ circle of influence rippled rapidly out across the nation.

In 1936 the Baltimore office, with A. W. Gottschall, and the Des Moines office, under Willard Johnson, were opened. From 1939 to 1941, citizens in other cities opened regional offices—Newark, Harrisburg, New Haven, Hartford and Providence. Johnson moved to St. Louis in response to that city's call, and Gottschall began a full-time operation in Washington, D. C.

Co-Chairmen David Schell, Malcolm Vilas and A. M. Luntz, in Cleveland, proved what dedicated laymen of three religions can do over a span of fifteen years; their record in that city is noteworthy. By 1944, other offices had been established in San Francisco, where Newton D. Baker's friend, Fred Koster, had been an advisor since 1929, and in Boston, where J. L. McCorison followed up the original efforts of the Calvert Associates. In Atlanta, Marjorie McLachlan, in Birmingham, Marjorie Rank, and in Pittsburgh, William Lindsay Young, were the creative professionals who launched valuable NCCJ programs.

With the reorganization of the national structure of NCCJ into major divisions in 1944, Hastings Harrison was named the first vice-president. Later national appointments were

designated for U. S. Mitchell, W. L. Young, Willard Johnson, Joseph Mayne, and H. L. Seamans.

It was not until 1953 that NCCJ named its first executive vice-president to administer the work of the national headquarters in New York and the sixty-two regional offices. The assignment went to Dr. Sterling W. Brown, who has been associated with the National Conference since 1943, first as associate director in St. Louis and Chicago, later as assistant to the president and general director. Well known in the U.S. and abroad for his work in the field of intergroup relations, Dr. Brown served from 1947 to 1949 on General Lucius D. Clay's staff in Germany as advisor on intergroup problems. Since 1949, he has been chairman of the Religious Affairs Panel which advises the U.S. State Department on religious affairs in the occupied countries.

NCCJ's ceaseless growth and consolidation, outreach and reorganization, is one of the strongest and most tangible demonstrations of the dynamism of its program. The experiences of the national vice-presidents who currently head the seven United States divisions of NCCJ illustrate how the constant recruitment of new forces for brotherhood has continued over the years.

As a young minister, Leo K. Bishop, a native of Oklahoma reared in the Disciples of Christ fellowship, entered into interreligious work in Oklahoma City, Des Moines and Paducah, Kentucky. He began with NCCJ as a volunteer member of one of the many wartime trios. This rewarding experience led him to accept the position as director of the St. Louis office in 1945, and, in 1947, director of the Southeastern Division.

Bishop set to work to make the city a stable, full-time operation in its own right. When St. Louis was chosen as one of the eighteen involved in NCCJ's intergroup education project, the office worked with hundreds of teachers and students, gained the full confidence of the city's school administrators and a reputation for stability and effective

educational procedures. Another of Bishop's accomplishments is a highly successful youth program which annually draws together students of all races and religions from thirty-five schools.

It was during this period that the office also reached into Southern Illinois, one-time chief stomping ground for the KKK, realizing that prejudice arising in this "backyard" of St. Louis quickly affects the metropolitan area. Southern Illinois, one of the first rural areas where NCCJ developed a concentrated program, now has a full-time director. In 1948 Bishop succeeded James Yard in Chicago and became vice-president of NCCJ's Central Division.

Dr. William L. Young, vice-president for NCCJ's South Pacific Division, was a chaplain in World War I, later served as a director on the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and president of Park College, before joining NCCJ's staff in Pittsburgh in 1944. Young became vice-president of the then new Central Division in 1946. The following year he made a trip to the West Coast which resulted in the organization of Los Angeles' first NCCJ executive committee. Young subsequently became executive director for Southern California and vice-president in charge of the Pacific Coast Division.

This division soon proved far too vast for the administration of one person and was split in 1951 into the North Pacific and South Pacific Divisions. Since then Young has sparked the development of offices with paid directors far from his South Pacific headquarters—in such cities as Albuquerque, El Paso, Denver and Tucson.

Karl B. Justus, vice-president for the North Pacific Division, was for ten years a Methodist minister, including two years as a Navy chaplain aboard a combat transport that participated in some of the bloodiest invasions in the Pacific. A member of the research committee of the United Nations' speakers' bureau, he served also for many years as a speaker for the United Jewish Appeal. The International Mark Twain

Society made him an honorary member for his contributions, through writings, to "unity and the bonds of cultured peace."

Justus served as associate and director of NCCJ's San Francisco operations and assistant to Young, until he became head in 1951 of the new North Pacific Division, including northern California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Montana. Since then, the program and financial structure of the Conference in the Bay area, Seattle and Portland has been broadened and stabilized and work has been extended to Salt Lake City and Sacramento.

The Bay area has expanded its educational work into one of the nation's strongest intergroup programs. San Francisco's education committee, for example, initiated and helped finance for five years a workshop in human relations at San Francisco State College. It has similarly assisted, with scholarships and materials, a high-level intergroup workshop at Stanford University.

Justus, in addition to his other duties, finds time for such activities as moderating "Operation Brotherhood," a twice-weekly radio program, and writing a "Religion in the News" column for the San Francisco *Examiner*.

William H. Tipton, Jr., a native of Mississippi and vice-president of NCCJ's Southeastern Division, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., began part-time work with the Conference in Houston where he was an executive with a leading advertising agency. Putting his advertising experience to work, Tipton was able to triple NCCJ membership and double financial support in Houston during the mid-forties.

In 1952, Hastings Harrison persuaded Tipton to become associate director for the Southwestern Division. He served there for only 13 months before NCCJ chose him to direct the Southeastern Division, an area so filled with problems and opportunities that NCCJ staffers sometimes refer to it as the "missionary district."

Dr. James M. Eagan's first association with NCCJ was as a

Columbia College student at the first seminar in Earl Hall in 1929. The display of anti-Catholic material from the Al Smith campaign left a deep impression. Later, as a student of Carlton J. H. Hayes', he learned more about the early work of the Conference.

Eagan, a graduate of Columbia College, Ph.D. in history in 1935, and former member of the faculty of the College of New Rochelle, during postwar years (1946-49), was with the Religious Affairs Branch of Military Government in Germany. In this capacity he played a key role in the organization of the first Councils of Christians and Jews in Germany; he also participated in conferences held during the formative stages of World Brotherhood.

Previous to becoming NCCJ vice-president and director for the Northeastern Division in 1951, Dr. Eagan was dean of Lewis College, Lockport, Illinois, and had held executive posts in the Catholic Association for International Peace and the American Catholic Historical Association.

The Northeast Division which he heads covers New England, New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. Regional offices are located in Boston, Hartford, Providence, Buffalo, New York, Newark, Philadelphia and Wilmington. During Eagan's three-year tenure, Wilmington and Buffalo were opened as full-time regional offices covering Delaware and upper and western New York State.

The New England offices, which were in a moribund state, now have full programs, are self-supporting and staffed with professionally-trained personnel. Steps are now being taken to establish chapters in Maine and New Hampshire. In New York, workshops have been established at Syracuse University and Buffalo State Teachers College. The division has also supplied professional personnel to aid the oldest intercultural education workshop at Rutgers University, and staffed a workshop for community organization leaders.

In Philadelphia, the Albert M. Greenfield Center for

Human Relations (described in a later chapter) is the largest such university program in the country. Delaware has taken the lead in pilot projects in educational integration and work with police and recreation department leaders. Maryland has done outstanding work with youth and police departments.

New York City has also begun an intensive program as a separate region. The New York City college and high school program has been particularly outstanding; the region's educational committee, under the leadership of Dr. William Jansen, superintendent of New York City Schools, is one of the nation's most effective. For years overshadowed by the national NCCJ office, the city's program now has a separate entity with offices reopened in the Bronx and Brooklyn and a new office opened in Queens.

Some fifteen years ago in the Queens community of Kew Gardens, Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy, prominent Catholic laywoman and daughter of former Ambassador to Turkey James O'Gorman, was invited to speak about Conference work before a women's Protestant group. Mrs. Duffy had recently joined the NCCJ staff to develop a program with women's organizations.

At the end of the talk, questions asked were very polite and noncontroversial. It was all very pleasant and the ladies said it was interesting and how nice it was to know about such a "worthy" organization.

"But," said the president of the group, "we really have no need for such work here. You know, at Christmas the Catholic Church has all the children in to see the creche. And at Thanksgiving, Protestant mothers ask the Catholic mothers to a special dinner. We have no real problems of prejudice as you can see."

"Well," asked Mrs. Duffy, "what about the Jews? How do they fit into your program?" The president had an answer which to her was apparently the panacea for community bigotry: "But there are no Jews here. The real estate people

won't rent or sell to Jews. And we're all very happy as we are now."

In the fifteen years since then many hands have helped smooth the road to understanding in American communities like Kew Gardens, but the interest and active participation of women like Mrs. Duffy in NCCJ's work has been a significant factor.

Women were prominent among the first list of contributors to NCCJ in 1928. The first major seminar, attended by some two hundred fifty influential women leaders of public opinion, heads of private schools, YWCA's and Catholic and Jewish organizations, was convened by NCCJ at Wellesley College in 1931. One of the first projects in 1933 of the newly formed Women's Committee of the New York Round-Table was a series of four musical programs to demonstrate how ecclesiastical music could be used as an avenue of approach to interreligious understanding.

In 1934, the interest of women's church and civic groups had so increased that Mrs. Jesse N. Bader, then of NCCJ's staff, made a tour of twenty-seven cities from coast to coast to address meetings of women of the three faiths. In most of the cities, active committees were left behind with plans for integrating the Conference program with that of community organizations.

Mrs. Duffy, who started with NCCJ at the encouragement of Carlton Hayes, tackled as her first assignment the Women's University Club. Her talk to the group aroused some enthusiastic support. Before long she had organized some distaff counterparts of the Brotherhood Trio who combed New York's five boroughs by bus and subway to carry the NCCJ story to every women's group possible.

Late in 1937, a women's national advisory committee was organized under her direction, with Mrs. Grace Allen Bangs, Mrs. Lyttleton Fox, Mrs. David M. Levy and Mrs. Morgan J. O'Brien as the chief sparkplugs of the fast-growing program. One of the committee's first moves was to contact

women leaders in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Association of University Women, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women and the League of Women Voters and ask their aid in the work. As a result many of these organizations arranged Brotherhood Week celebrations and formed permanent committees, and through the years have continued to give NCCJ their full cooperation.

The first major fund-raising and publicity venture of the women's committee occurred in 1940 when Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Parker O. Griffith and nearly one hundred other prominent New York women helped sponsor a benefit concert at Carnegie Hall. Over three thousand people from twenty-one states turned out to hear Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* rendered by the NBC Symphony Orchestra, the Westminster Choir and four Metropolitan Opera soloists under the direction of Arturo Toscanini.

The following year a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Poletti, wife of New York's lieutenant governor, got underway to promote the observance of Brotherhood Week in schools. Teams of women armed with NCCJ kits called on high school officials to offer help in arranging programs and providing speakers. As a result, some two hundred thousand New York school children participated through assemblies and other programs. In 1942, the superintendent of schools took over and suggested to all principals that school programs highlight Brotherhood Week—a custom that is now well established in the city's public schools.

As an outgrowth of the intensive work of the women's committee a special NCCJ department was set up in 1942 to supply program materials to Conference offices and to keep in continual communication with national agencies for community groups. In December, 1946, recognition was made of the importance of the work by the creation of the Commission on Community Organizations, today one of the five basic NCCJ divisions.

Mrs. Ellen Duffy, whose long record of NCCJ achievements includes the establishment of a speaker's bureau, the extension of Religious Book Week as a national event, and responsibility for the first radio scripts, brotherhood poster contests and numerous pamphlets such as "Operation Brotherhood" and "Brotherhood for Common Good," was the natural choice as director of the new commission.

The chairmanship was accepted by G. Howland Shaw, leading Catholic layman and former Under Secretary of State. At the first meeting, members of the Commission, including key officials from the field of education, labor, industry, veterans and farm groups, women's and service clubs, agreed on a program to encourage existing organizations to spread NCCJ ideals through their own groups by forums and speeches, literature and brotherhood programs. Plans were also made to stimulate the organization of neighborhood councils which would bring people together under their own leadership to work on civic projects of benefit to their communities.

As Shaw defined the Commission's purpose, it would "popularize the program of the Conference, enlist wider interest and support and enable people of different religious and cultural backgrounds to contribute, each in their own way, to the genuine democratic community. . . . The most effective way to promote the ideals of the Conference is to create a situation in the community conducive to the practice of these ideals."

During its ten years of existence the Commission has done an increasingly effective job of furthering these aims. Today, under Chairman Harold Riegelman and Director Louis Radellet, it works in tandem with more than four hundred national community organizations. Among its many tasks are the printing and distribution of materials including radio and television scripts, the sponsorship of summer workshops for leadership training and the annual publication of a Books for Brotherhood bibliography.

Typical of one Commission approach to the task of assisting organizations is an annual conference in Detroit on "Building Human Relations Programs in Your Organization." It is attended by some eight hundred club and association presidents and program chairmen. Dr. Dumont Kenny, NCCJ's national program director, keynoted the most recent session in 1954.

What can NCCJ's program mean to community life? South Bend, Indiana, where Louis Radelet directed the work before taking over the direction of the Community Organizations Commission in September, 1952, provides a compelling example of how citizens of varying religions and racial backgrounds can be brought together to work for a common cause.

A problem of juvenile delinquency was the cause that brought Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders together in a Community Council in South Bend several years ago. The group, composed of six priests, six ministers and three rabbis cut across community lines to become a real force in the city, which by the nature of its population and industrial breakdown has had some serious problems.

The Council met monthly, and by the time the men were sufficiently acquainted to lunch together, the Orthodox rabbi thoughtfully timed his arrival at the end of the meal so as not to cause any embarrassment. After a few meetings and some frank discussions, there was no uniform meeting of minds, but there had developed an awareness of basic differences, an agreement of mutual concern on civic tasks—along with a definite sense of camaraderie.

In discussing the problem of juvenile delinquency, all felt it was a mistake that in no case was a clergyman of the faith of the defendant ever called in as adviser. Soon they had persuaded the courts to let members of the group sit in as counsellors. Out of a series of six meetings in which they consulted with specialists in youth problems from twenty-odd agencies, the Council set forth fourteen recom-

mendations to the Juvenile Court; eight of these were later written into the court's policy manual.

This is but one phase of the nccj program, now under the direction of Miss Margaret Cuddy, which reaches all segments and age levels in South Bend and has helped create an atmosphere in which segregation and the more overt forms of discrimination and prejudice are almost nonexistent.

A Women's Council on Human Relations organized by the South Bend chapter recently sponsored a series of panel discussions on "Living in a Friendly World" which reached three hundred key women church leaders in northern Indiana. Another project was an institute held in cooperation with the American Association of University Women on "Rearing Children of Good Will."

In cooperation with the University of Indiana, workshops are held annually for high school leaders; an Inter-Campus Council on Human Relations, involving students from many colleges and schools in the area, holds a number of conferences every year. South Bend's Junior nccj Chapter sponsored a series of "Know Your Community" tours, sparked a "Teens' for Teamwork" institute attended by over two hundred youngsters. Jackie Robinson was chief speaker in 1954 at a teenage Brotherhood Week banquet and before numerous other student groups. The St. Joseph County Junior Chapter staged an educational festival honoring students from fourteen countries.

These highlights from one year's activities in a single community only suggest the extent to which nccj work from coast to coast helps to hold citizens of all faiths with a bond of brotherhood. The generous support given by the men and women of good will in South Bend to the program is one indication of their abiding belief in its ideals. Last year the South Bend office operated on a budget of around sixteen thousand dollars, all of it obtained from contributions of local citizens and corporations.

South Bend's budget tells something of nccj's total growth.

too. It is almost half again as much as the \$11,740 which represented the Conference's entire receipts in its first year of 1928. The tough sledding of the early days is evident in a wire which Dr. Clinchy sent regarding a "financial cultivation" tour by George Conant. It said: "Conant . . . should go to St. Louis immediately. Perhaps Dr. (Robert) Ashworth can advance personally part of necessary travel money until a straw check clears."

The deepening depression made matters even more difficult. A solicitation to a Warren, Pennsylvania, businessman in February, 1933, for example, got this reply: "Sorry, but not possible to find funds for anything. Forty per cent bank deposits in default. Twenty-five per cent workers unemployed. Local hospital about to close for want of funds and schools unable to carry on because of unpaid taxes. No possibility for amity or justice when, in the midst of plenty, willing workers must beg for food."

Nevertheless, NCCJ made a record in memberships, financial contributions and extension in program that is almost unique in the history of American organizations in the period 1928-41. A steady rise in collections, from eleven thousand dollars to twenty-three thousand dollars, continued straight through the depression years. That year NCCJ's board expressed official appreciation for Dr. Clinchy's "realistic idealism" and James N. Rosenberg's "idealistic realism" in fund-raising work.

From the beginning, Clinchy personally shared in the job of money-raising. To him money is a form of energy—energy vitally needed to get on with the tasks of brotherhood. "I happen to be one who enjoys asking people for money," he says, "because I think that one of the hardest things in the world is to give away money wisely. And if we, with earnest conviction, can provide and sell to potential givers a program worthy of financial support, we are actually providing a service to people who have contributions to share with a

good cause. Therefore, I have never felt reluctant about approaching people for gifts."

In the early days, Clinchy supplemented the NCCJ budget with earnings from lectures and courses he gave at Drew University, Rollins College and elsewhere. Along with other NCCJ staff members, he continues to turn over all royalties, honorariums or other fees to the Conference.

He continues, too, a lifetime practice of cutting corners, believing that it is far more prudent to save money on expenses than to try to raise more money to everlastingly extend NCCJ's program. Recently, for example, he returned to New York from Houston on a coach plane instead of a regular flight and turned the ticket in so the difference could go back into the kitty. Once, going to Boston in a Pullman upper berth, he discovered long-time NCCJ worker Dr. Henry Leiper in the lower. "What in Harry are you doing up there?" asked Leiper. "I like an upper," Clinchy explained, adding that he had gotten in the habit after twenty-five years and preferred it that way.

"Maybe it's the Scotch in my tradition that impels me to think that way," he says, "but I think that has been the rule with most of our staff, because they are devoted, as missionaries, to a cause."

Over the years NCCJ has kept the character of an organization of popular support. The average gift today is about ten to twelve dollars. Contributions vary from a nickel (last year three hundred ten youngsters in a Brooklyn school sent in a check for fifteen dollars and fifty cents) to one thousand dollars or more from individuals and corporations. Many contributors, like Cleveland Dodge of the Phelps-Dodge Corp., haven't missed a year in NCCJ's twenty-seven-year history.

Dr. Arthur Packard, counsellor to the Rockefellers on contributions to various programs and charities, not long ago noted that after some twenty years of careful study of the budgets, techniques and programs of many different organi-

zations, he had found none which provided more evidence of vitality and steady growth than NCCJ.

Occasionally, some people have thought and said that NCCJ is financed primarily by Jews. Actually it is the first agency in history, working primarily on problems of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, in which Protestants from the beginning have been the majority contributors. About eighty per cent of NCCJ's budget today comes from Christians. The largest contribution ever received came from the Ford Motor Company Fund, whose one-million-dollar gift will make it possible for NCCJ to move into the "Building for Brotherhood" at Forty-three West Fifty-seventh Street in New York in mid-1955.

In one sense, NCCJ looks upon itself as a corporation whose business it is to increase the "spiritual capital" of the country. The "product" in which Americans invest is a nation where people of every religion, race and origin will live in harmony and understanding; the "dividend," a future free of war, hate and prejudice.

To date, there is considerable evidence that the investment is paying dividends. The past quarter century is the first period in which the U.S. has proved invulnerable to outfits like the KKK, the American Protective Association, the Know-Nothing and Nativist movements.

From a small handful of dedicated people, NCCJ's contributors have multiplied to a quarter of a million. The budget edges steadily upward every year in a growth that reflects a deepening awareness by Americans that encounters between culture groups can no longer be left to chance, that the spotlight of good will must be focused constantly on the dark areas of prejudice and that a ceaseless maintenance job is essential to guard against the deterioration of brotherly traits.

Yet the challenge is still almost overwhelming. NCCJ's annual budget of over two million dollars seems like a sizable

figure. Yet it would scarcely cover the cost of a single trans-continental bomber.

NCCJ's greatest strength derives from the fact that it has become an integral part of the lives and institutions of the American people. It has gained effectiveness and outstanding leadership through the involvement of hundreds of thousands of volunteers—educators, clergymen, businessmen and labor leaders. Although staffed by a small core of hard-working professionals, the Conference remains essentially an organization of volunteers.

In developing a program, NCCJ leaders have realized that there is no more practical way to build sound intergroup attitudes and practices than by working with and through the great institutions which guide and shape the thinking and actions of citizens. Thus, the development of NCCJ's five "trunkline" commissions, whose work is highlighted elsewhere, has practical as well as sociological warrant.

From the inception of NCCJ's Commission on Educational Organizations sixteen years ago to the creation of its Commission on Mass Communications in 1951, top American leaders in these fields have selflessly devoted time and effort toward furthering Conference objectives. Local counterpoints of the five commissions are now to be found in an increasing number of NCCJ regional offices and chapters.

In 1952 the work of the commissions was coordinated and focused more sharply on major problems through the creation of a National Program Committee composed of the chairmen of the five commissions and the seven territorial divisions. The program staff, directed by Dumont Kenny, provides professional guidance and continuity for year-round program activities and services. A recent realignment of professional functions promises additional services such as research, staff and volunteer training and increased production of program materials.

The National Conference, like all other organizations, has had its share of growing pains. Indeed its phenomenal

growth would have made this inevitable even if it had a less stormy and complex area than human relations in which to work. Directional lines are now being untangled, unworkable projects discarded, the caliber of professional personnel immeasurably improved, and demonstration procedures have been put into effect to make an organization which had a Topsy-like growth speak with a national voice. In short, NCCJ is now reaching a stage of maturity.

While volunteer and professional members of the Conference would be the first to point out that much remains to be done, there is already abundant evidence that NCCJ's second quarter century of service to America will be marked by the same firm qualities of leadership and devotion that characterized its initial quarter century of growth from 1928 to 1953.

THE WAR YEARS: AN ERA OF SOUL-SEARCHING

"Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force; that thoughts rule the world."

1

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

IN 1932, WHEN GOEBBELS was polishing up his anti-Semitic symphony for its world-wide debut, Everett Clinchy, as NCCJ president, and Dr. Henry S. Leiper, of the World Council of Churches, addressed a small luncheon of Berlin businessmen in the Kaiserhof Hotel. By that time, Goebbels' propaganda had incited brass-knuckled Nazi students to chasing "die Juden" down the streets—a warning of more terrible things to come.

Leiper and Clinchy pleaded with the Germans to educate their nation for cooperation of Christians and Jews against the Nazi doctrine of hate. But their pleas fell on deaf ears. Berlin's various religious cultures had always gotten along splendidly, the businessmen said; besides the Hitler movement was but a passing, fanatical flash in the pan. The proposal to organize and raise funds for education in human relations was turned down flatly.

A year later the Nazi fuehrer was in power. In a dozen years the Kaiserhof Hotel where they had met lay in ruins. And the businesses, fortunes and families of the short-sighted Berliners were broken and destroyed.

With the advent of Hitlerism in Germany, Goebbels set about exporting the local product to America. Adolph A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State (1938-44), told how a

German agent, in an intercepted report, boasted that he had done two things for his Nazi masters. He had, he thought, inflamed certain American groups against Negroes and, in certain areas, taught Negroes to hate Jews.

On the basis of documents that came to the State Department, Berle said: "Today we recognize any move to organize race intolerance for what it really is: a movement bought and paid for by some foreign propagandist whose interest is to undermine the United States." The totalitarian powers, who used the tactic of setting group against group often more effectively than guns and tanks, of course, had considerable assistance in their work from sincere if misguided Americans.

But, unlike the Germans, most American Protestants, Catholics and Jews joined together in a common fight to maintain national unity in the face of Nazism. The National Conference, shifting its emphasis from its original major struggle against anti-Catholicism, quickly reshaped its forces to lead in the epic battle to defend the rights of the Jewish people.

One of the instruments for molding opinion which NCCJ often used, especially in its earlier years, was the issuance of public statements on problems of interreligious concern, signed by leaders in all fields. The first statement against Nazi persecution of Jews was released in May, 1933. The statement, written by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and signed by twelve hundred Protestant clergymen, was sent to leaders of a dozen denominations in Germany. It deplored "the consequences that must fall upon the Jews, upon Christendom, which permits this ruthless persecution, and in particular upon Germany itself."

In July of the same year, NCCJ released a "statement of belief" signed by one hundred forty-two colleges and university presidents and seventy outstanding social scientists. Addressed to the heads of every institution of higher learning in Germany, the statement pleaded for recognition and respect of the rights of Jews and all minorities as essential to culture and civilization. Declared Newton D. Baker, in an individual

statement attached: "The time for protest is past—the time for pedagogy is here."

An NCCJ pronouncement reaffirming the American principles of civil and religious freedom, to which over fifty thousand clergymen of all faiths affixed their signatures, was made public in several thousand communities in June, 1937. "In various parts of the world today strife between religious groups is being fomented," NCCJ said in explaining its purpose, "and misunderstanding, discrimination and . . . persecution are being deliberately promoted on political grounds. Our own country can hardly escape the influence of what is occurring in other lands. . . ."

Fifty-three Protestant, twenty-three Catholic and twenty-three Jewish leaders signed the first major statement of American citizens against the Hitler terror in 1938. This manifesto protested the "oppressive legislation and government-inspired hatred in Austria under Nazi rule." The statement disclaimed any desire to embarrass official United States-German relations but held that "no considerations of international policy on the comity of nations can obligate us to keep silent in the face of an assault on human rights and liberties which in their significance transcend geographical boundaries and diplomatic conventions."

The same year two days of nationwide prayer for the oppressed of Germany were climaxed by an NCCJ-sponsored broadcast over one hundred seventeen radio stations.

In September, 1938, the infamous Munich Pact, marking the height of the Western appeasement policy toward Hitler, was denounced by NCCJ as bringing "racism into the field of international policy for the first time," and thus giving "an enormous impetus to anti-religion throughout the world."

In September, 1940, NCCJ embarked on a campaign for national unity under the leadership of Basil O'Connor. A joint appeal calling for a "unity of spirit and action" and signed by leaders of the three faiths from coast to coast touched off the program.

Not only was NCCJ one of the first organizations to be concerned about the maintenance of unity in pre-war days; it was perhaps the first to stress the need of unity without uniformity. Late in 1940, Clinchy warned the country of dangers of a national unity "achieved in hysteria" and which "can easily become a uniformity that penalizes the holding of an opinion at variance with popular opinion . . . Fanatical insistence on conformity may carelessly distort national unity into precisely the kind of totalitarian tyranny we wish to avoid. . . . The right to be different belongs to all and must be recognized by all. . . .

"Whatever happens to Jews in the coming years will happen to Christians also. If civil liberties are denied to Jews in the United States, the same liberties will be denied to Christians. Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish problem; it is a disease which Protestants, Catholics and Jews must study and cure for their collective safety."

In view of the menace that threatened world society as well as human relations in America, NCCJ stepped up its educational program. Institutes and seminars across the country laid special emphasis on the problems inherent in the challenge of totalitarianism during these years. For example, over five hundred leaders of the three faiths spent two weeks together at Estes Park, Colorado, in 1938 considering "American Democracy vs. Totalitarianism." A Houston institute the same year discussed a similar theme of "American Democracy vs. Tyrant Dictatorship."

It was in this period, too, that the NCCJ concept of brotherhood took on its first international flavor. In December, 1940, the Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Moderator of the British Free Church Council issued a joint statement as to what the religiously-minded people of Great Britain demanded as a basis of a new social order there after the war.

A few months later, under the joint chairmanship of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Archbishops, two public meet-

ings were held that went a step further and attempted to picture what a postwar international order would be like. The meetings, wrote Catholic Leader Hillaire Belloc, were a new departure for England. Never since the Reformation, he said, had there been a demonstration of unity of purpose on a matter of such high import by members of different faiths.

Shortly after these demonstrations, in what Clinchy describes as "an echo of the exhilarating feeling of the first pilgrimage of a minister, priest and rabbi," Father Vincent D. Donovan, O. P. of New York, Rabbi Morris Lazaron and Clinchy were invited to visit England, Ireland and Scotland as guests of the British government during the blitz.

After a month spent in interviewing everyone from prime ministers and archbishops to exiled Polish leaders and raid victims, the trio returned to tour the U.S. together. They reported a reawakening of spiritual life in Britain, induced by hardships of war and a "Dunkerque from materialism," with sectarian barriers dissolving in the face of urgent need for everyday cooperation among members of all faiths.

The grim days following Munich brought on some intense soul-searching among all thoughtful Americans, but none more earnest than that among NCCJ leaders as to the kind of service the Conference might render. Said the director's annual report for 1938: "The campaigns and strategy of the Conference must be based upon a realistic facing of the facts as to the sort of world in which we are living. The Conference must become more militant in its championship of the brotherhood of man . . .

"All policies and procedures must be re-examined in the light of recent history that we may cope with courage and wisdom with the terrific problems that confront us today. We must have a sense of mission . . ."

A group of distinguished friends of NCCJ, meeting in New York in 1939 to discuss increasing tensions, agreed generally that the basic methods and policies of the Conference were sound and that its long-range educational job was valid. But

they urged that "positive immediate action to meet the rising tide of intolerance" was imperative. Other demands for "aggressive action" to meet hate agitators were heard with increasing frequency.

A recommendation made at a meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1940 got to the heart of an issue that, chronically misunderstood and misinterpreted, has plagued NCCJ since its inception. The suggestion made (and tabled) was that any expression of the purpose of the Conference should make it clear that the organization is not a "direct action" agency on problems growing out of intolerance.

An Action-versus-Education conflict over NCCJ's basic role in American life, coupled with a clear disagreement within the staff over whether the Conference should be maintained on a spiritual basis or not, soon brought the organization face to face with its first and only major internal struggle.

The Japanese attack on December 7, 1941, heightened the crisis within NCCJ, and made even more urgent an evaluation and resolution of the character of the work it would assume in wartime. In an executive committee meeting at the home of Roger W. Straus two weeks after the United States declaration of war, Finance Chairman James N. Rosenberg summed up: "This is a different world from before Pearl Harbor. Unless we can present this cause as a compelling cause, NCCJ will dwindle."

At a special meeting of the board the following week, Clinchy reported on the opinions of American leaders whose counsel he had sought as to the most important services NCCJ might render in wartime. Without reservation, the replies indicated that the compulsion of war had greatly strengthened the Conference's opportunities to serve the country.

Later a staff executive was requested to prepare a detailed memorandum on the relations between the Conference's program and the national war effort, both for the Board's consideration and for the Federal Office of Facts and Figures.

At considerable length the report analyzed the character-

istics of NCCJ's program during its first twelve years. "While the Conference always recognized that prejudice rises from racial, social, psychological and economic causes as well as those of a religious nature," the report said, "its concern was primarily with prejudice toward religious groups and its attack was largely through religious channels."

In the view of the writer, the Conference also had, with few exceptions, publicized the ideal of tolerance rather than attacking instances of intolerance, had concentrated chiefly on the education of adults and had had an intellectual rather than an emotional appeal in its program materials.

"This procedure established a favorable atmosphere for development of good will toward the Conference," the memo conceded. "Emphasis upon education for a better order rather than criticism of the present one undoubtedly dispelled fears of the suspicious. Emphasis upon the trialogue pattern has made that pattern an accepted phenomenon of American community life and identified the Conference with a definite symbol in the public mind. Moreover, it is of course necessary in the early days of any unendowed movement to appeal first to sympathetic groups and through their interest build financial support for education of the less sympathetic. . . .

"The decision in early years to stress the fact that the Conference was not seeking a watering down of individual religious conviction or a least-common-denominator of faith was certainly a wise one and probably responsible for the absence of any hint during its entire history that the Conference has proselytized in the interests of any one group."

In the years 1940-42, it was noted, there had been an increasing tendency in NCCJ to deal with prejudice rooted in racial as well as religious differences and to take more aggressive action—for example, in working with fair employment agencies and fighting against the alleged discrimination by landlords against Negroes in Chicago. Also NCCJ was making more attempts to educate the intolerant as well as those in sympathy with its aims, beginning to emphasize learning-

through-doing more than learning-through-listening, and popularizing its program materials.

"All these gradual shifts in emphasis were under way before the war," the report said, "but were not occurring rapidly enough to satisfy some cooperating agencies, contributors to the Conference and members of its Board and executive committee. The war brings both new program and financial challenge to the Conference and sharpens the impatience of its friends with its gradual evolution."

No radically new program policies were suggested, "only a speeding up of an evolutionary process already at work. We still have two jobs to do—to educate for better human relationships and to combat intolerance."

The report, however, recommended extending the NCCY program to an active campaign against discrimination on all fronts. Mentioned specifically were such problems as the pro-German, pro-Japanese effort to foster anti-Semitism among Negroes in Harlem, an active anti-Negro KKK in Detroit which also was an anti-Catholic movement, and the action (later abandoned) of the Red Cross in establishing a separate blood bank for Negroes.

"The fact that religious intolerance is neither now nor will be in the postwar world an isolated phenomenon argues for our attacking intolerance whenever and wherever it shows its head," the report said.

"Shall we lay more emphasis on direct action? . . . Because of the seriousness of today's situation it is suggested that temporarily at least somewhat less emphasis be laid on publicizing the desirability of cooperation and more on studying community situations and rallying forces to do something about them. . . . Field directors would need to act as community organizers. . . . The time now spent in making speeches or in getting others to make them would be spent in analysis of community forces at work, interpreting these to community leaders and getting facts and public opinion constructively marshalled for action . . . The ideal of interracial,

interfaith cooperation would not be lost sight of but would rather be all the more clear because worked out in action."

At a Board meeting called to consider the report in March, 1942, Clinchy stated that nccj should recognize three essential principles if it was to make the contribution it was most uniquely fitted to make: 1) that it has a definitely theistic basis (the concept in the original statement of purpose—"Believing in a spiritual interpretation of the universe and deriving its inspiration therefrom . . ."—has never varied); 2) that it is concerned with a single job—relations between Protestants, Catholics and Jews; 3) that to carry out its principles it must have a staff composed of practicing religious people.

The report was most helpful, Clinchy said, for the clear and comprehensive way in which it analyzed nccj's past and present duties and opportunities. He felt, however, that if its recommendations were accepted, the Conference would become a kind of "General League Against All Intolerance," one more "Pro-Democracy Committee, of which the number already is legion."

Further, it would change nccj's nature, objective and motivation. "As a conferring body, we have always motivated people to understand each other and then work together through their churches, schools, clubs and every other community agency. But this report plans to make the nccj itself take action, to do 'case work.'

"It would change our motivation from an organization founded on religious teaching, appealing to religious motives and supported by people who believe in religion, to a secular philosophy, disregarding ecclesiastical structure and ecclesiastical sensibilities and procedures."

Not all of the Board thought the report presented so clear an issue. Said one member: "We have never kept our work within such narrow limits. Our statement of principles is wider than that. This report on program presents no issue of principle."

But the consensus was that it did. "The Conference," said George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, "has survived other organizations pledged to promote interreligious amity which have come and gone, because it has stuck to its task of developing the common idealism of members of the Catholic, the Protestant and the Jewish faiths. Of course, every educational organization is facing the issue of whether to concern itself with more specific practical tasks.

"But if we enter into the broad social field and deal with numerous problems we run the risk of disappearing because of a lack of organizational unity. It would end up in a free-for-all which would accelerate intolerance. If we leave the ground of religious motivation we shall create an organization which will be the undertaker which will put NCCJ in its final resting place."

NCCJ Co-Chairman Carlton J. H. Hayes, presiding, agreed. Said he: "I feel that we should stick rather closely to our original purpose. The field of intolerance is very wide. This Conference has accomplished great things, though we can use no adequate yardsticks. On our staff throughout the country we use religiously-minded people who know the religious field. The Round Tables, brought together as Protestants, Catholics and Jews, find special problems and deal with them.

"There must be a long-term educational campaign carried on to teach tolerance among members of the three faiths, all of whom accept the principle in their religious teaching. In 1943, 1944 or in 2043 and 2044 there will be a job to do to get Catholics, Protestants and Jews to live up to the implications of their faith in relationships across faith lines."

A special committee made up of the three national co-chairmen, Shuster and Henry N. McCracken, president of Vassar College, was appointed to further examine the report. They, too, concluded that "primarily the Conference must always remain an organization working in the areas that lie between the great religious organizations. This should not be

interpreted as justifying evasion of the great social issues," the committee said, "but rather as clarifying the audience, the organizations and to a certain extent the language to which its appeal should be addressed . . ."

More important than any step which the Conference might take was the decision reached by the committee that NCCJ must give careful thought and full consideration to every future program in the light of the definition of its field. "By remaining within this field NCCJ has come to have a position unique in American social organizations," the committee pointed out. "It therefore speaks with authority when it speaks. If it retains this position it can cooperate with other organizations in entire understanding and goodwill."

Thus the Conference emerged from the whirlpool of conflicting opinion that threatened to put it off course, hoisted its mainsail and set out through the towering waves of prejudice whipped up by a world at war.

Months before Pearl Harbor, remembering the hatreds that manifested themselves after World War I demobilization, NCCJ took cognizance of the fresh problem in Army camps. In July, 1941, the Board gave thumping approval to the USO campaign as the greatest cooperative effort among the three faiths in history. At the same meeting, a decision was made to map out a program in cooperation with Army chaplains "to immunize our soldiers against the virus of hate."

In World War I, many an American learned for the first time that a man is a man, no matter what his race, religion, or nationality. But back home, in the hard, twisted twenties, as an earlier chapter outlines, many of them forgot this knowledge, dearly-sought on the battlefields. Prejudice thrived amidst economic maladjustments and postwar frustration. Clever demagogues know how to exploit the war-weariness, the job-hunger of ex-soldiers and citizens. And so an era difficult at best was darkened still further by hate movements which unified thoughtful men into the counter-movement that became NCCJ.

NCCJ determined to do everything in its power to see that history did not repeat itself. The opportunity was immense. Never had there been such a concentration of manpower as there was in some five hundred military bases across the country. Many of the five million GIs in training by the end of 1942 were for the first time meeting Americans with different backgrounds from their own. Day by day, as race, creed and Old World nationalities intermingled and men were welded into a unity as soldiers of a common cause, prejudices crumbled. By convincing these men in uniform of the need for an abiding brotherhood that would live on after the war, thirty years of work in human relationships might be crowded into a single year.

The camp program which many NCCJ leaders still consider the high point in Conference history came about almost by accident. Major General George Van Deusen, commander of the thirty thousand-man Signal Corps base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, and a man of deep religious conviction, became concerned with the considerable racial and religious friction among the men in his command—prejudices which lowered morale and destroyed teamwork.

The general called upon an old friend, Samuel D. Leidesdorf of New York, who for many years had devoted his time and efforts to education, philanthropy and civic welfare. Leidesdorf also had a lengthy record of distinguished service in the field of human relations with NCCJ. When General Van Deusen asked him whether he knew of any organization which might help the situation at Fort Monmouth, he arranged a meeting with Dr. Clinchy. As a result, a series of mass-seminars, entire companies assembled by the order-of-the-day, with the familiar priest, minister and rabbi appearing on the same platform, were conducted for two weeks.

"The very novelty of this trio idea brought the boys to the meetings," Leidesdorf says. "They learned that the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God is not just a high-sounding phrase to be used every so often by the man in the

pulpit. They learned that it is plain common sense; that it is a practical, yes, a necessary thing in everyday living. They talked fair play and good sportsmanship. There was no meddling with doctrine or dogma. These teachers gave straight facts on science, education and religion—the basic principles which make men work together like the members of a bomber crew or a winning football team. Perhaps the theme of these meetings can be summed up in the words of one of the rabbis who said, 'I don't want to be your brother-in-law. I just want to be your brother.'

"These seminars dealt with facts. Open discussions were held on those emotions and habits, both acquired and inherited, which were breaking down the teamwork and the cooperation so vital in a time of common danger. I watched the faces of the boys and heard some of the discussions after the opening talks. To me, the results were amazing. Many of the boys from small places in the piney woods had never witnessed anything like it.

"Some had never seen a rabbi before. A few had never met a priest, and here they saw both priest and rabbi working with a minister in complete harmony and comradeship, with only one thought in mind—to prove that anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism can be eliminated once the facts are known."

After General Van Deusen analyzed the results of the meetings, he became convinced that such a program could help the entire military organization. Word got to Washington and as a result Clinchy was called in to discuss a plan for providing trios for installations from Alaska to the Straits of Magellan. The Chief Chaplains of the Army (Brigadier General William R. Arnold) and Navy (Captain Robert Du Bois Workman) approved the idea in short order, with "personal interest and enthusiastic cooperation."

Often the camp seminars were made part of orientation courses. Trio members didn't simply make a speech. They usually stayed at a base from two days to two weeks, con-

ferring with officers and enlisted men and addressing groups varying from a pool-table session in a barracks room to thousands of men assembled in a stadium or open field.

By the summer of 1942 the program was organized in a special NCCJ department under the direction of Dr. Andrew W. Gottschall. The first base reached was Camp Gordon, Georgia, in October of that year. Soon trios were criss-crossing North and South America via Army planes, buses, trains, jeeps and sometimes on horseback and afoot.

Illustrative of the sweep of the program was the work in the Southwest. Camp Director Gottschall and Hastings Harrison persuaded Colonel Ora J. Cohee, Chief Chaplain of the Eighth Service Command who later served as head of NCCJ's San Antonio region for eight years, and his commanding officer, General Richard Donovan, to give top priority to the work in all stations of the command. On the initial trip to four huge bases in Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma, the teams were led by the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of the Catholic Diocese of San Antonio, Rabbi Morris Lazzaron and Dr. Clinchy. Before war's end, these teams had reached fully two million members of the armed services in the Southwest alone.

An NCCJ team consisting of Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays, Dr. J. H. Ettlinger of the University of Texas and the Very Reverend S. F. Lisewski, president of Austin's St. Edward's University, as an example, in two days spoke to every soldier at Camp Barkeley in Abilene, Texas—audiences totaling sixty-eight thousand. At Fort Bliss in El Paso a trio addressed some ten thousand men in a field; and held other sessions hour after hour in dance halls, theaters and mess halls.

Alaska and the Aleutian Islands became the first assignment for NCCJ trios outside the United States. Dr. Theodore Speers, Rabbi William Rosenblum and Father Edward Cardinal headed a team which flew seventeen thousand dangerous air miles to Attu on "The Chain" and to Nome on the

supply line to Fairbanks and Russia, put in one hundred fifty man-days speaking to troops in rugged, isolated outposts.

At the conclusion of a series in one Army camp, the speakers, accompanied by the base Information & Education officer, paid their respects to the commanding officer. The I. & E. officer stepped forward, saluted and addressed the company. "Sir," he said, "this may seem a strange speech from the officer responsible for courses on information and education, but candor compels me to say that what these gentlemen have done here during the past three days is the finest piece of I & E work I have seen done anywhere in the Army."

A significant phase of NCCJ wartime work was its help in indoctrinating chaplains with the ideals of brotherhood. Most of the ten thousand chaplains in the armed services, NCCJ realized, could return after the war to their hometowns to become a center of influence in their pulpits and communities against hate and religious intolerance.

Clinchy became a regular lecturer at the Army Chaplains School at Harvard University and the Naval Chaplains School at William & Mary College. Every class that went through the schools received NCCJ orientation on the philosophy and techniques of building understanding and cooperation among people of different religious and racial backgrounds. In cooperation with the national chaplains' office, millions of NCCJ books, pamphlets and motion pictures on the theme of brotherhood were also distributed through chaplains to men and women in service.

By war's end, NCCJ had personally reached some eight million individuals. What were the results? Service leaders like Major General Frederick E. Uhl have flatly stated: "That the program made a definite, measurable contribution to the war effort is not open to question." According to USO leaders, the jealousies, bickerings and gripes that kept Secretary of War Newton D. Baker worried as Protestants, Catholics and Jews fought with each other in World War I, were absent to

an amazing degree in World War II—a fact they credited in large part to NCCJ's efforts.

Unquestionably, NCCJ put a picture in the minds of many responsible leaders in the armed forces that contributed to the breaking down of racial barriers and the eventual integration of all services. Wherever possible, in all wartime trio appearances, the integration of audiences was encouraged. All of its efforts among servicemen helped advance the idea for which Dwight D. Eisenhower, as both soldier and President, has stood: in the armed forces, there is no more necessity for segregating peoples of different color than there is for segregating people of different faiths.

The camp program was not brought to a close at the end of the war, but continued in varying ways through the post-war period and the outbreak of war in Korea which, combined with other world tensions, has kept thousands of young men and women flowing through the induction centers. One example of this work was the distribution (through chaplains) in 1951 of an NCCJ-prepared series of pamphlets explaining the reasons for American military operations.

The first, *I Thank God*, compared the blessings of life in the United States with conditions that prevail in Communist Russia and other totalitarian states. The second, dealing with bigotry, was titled, *Intolerance Is Treason*; the third, *Heir to Millions*, enumerated the legacies that the American system provides for all citizens. In accepting them, Rear Admiral Stantor W. Salisbury, chairman of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board, said: "These pamphlets indicate that a belief in God is the real basis and motive in our struggle against aggression. To assure victory, all men holding this belief and accepting its implications must present a common front not only in resisting the threat of Communism, but against bigotry and prejudice everywhere."

One of the most dramatic interreligious demonstrations of good will during World War II occurred at 12:55 a.m. on February 3, 1943, when the troopship *Dorchester* was tor-

pedoed in the North Atlantic. Aboard the doomed vessel were four chaplains—Reverend George L. Fox, a Methodist; Reverend Clark V. Poling of the Baptist First Reformed Church; John P. Washington, a Roman Catholic Priest; and Rabbi Alexander D. Goode.

The men gave their life jackets to soldiers who had left theirs below in the sudden explosion and confusion. As the ship went down the four chaplains were last seen standing with locked arms, each uttering his own prayer. That picture of Protestant, Catholic and Jew standing together has been etched deeply into America's conscience. The tragedy and high heroism aboard the sinking *Dorchester*, indeed, has become a classic symbol of American interreligious brotherhood.

HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE THREE R'S

"Every bigot was once a child free of prejudice."

1

SISTER MARY DE LOURDES

AT THE RAMBUNCTIOUS AGE OF SEVEN, Theodore Soares was in the habit of playing on a nearby vacant lot with any and all children in the Chicago neighborhood where he lived. One afternoon he returned home unexpectedly for some forgotten toy. Noting callers, he moved quietly. Upon hearing his name mentioned, he stood tiptoe-still and listened.

"Mrs. Soares," he heard one of a delegation of neighboring ladies say in severe tones, "We all like you and we think Theodore is a fine, gentlemanly boy. But if you continue to let him play with all those dirty little Jews and Dagoes and niggers, we simply can't invite him to our homes." To this his mother quietly replied: "We have tried to teach Theodore that all of his little friends are God's children and that only doing what is right counts. Skins and languages are incidentals."

Young Ted, intrigued, immediately ran back to the vacant lot and asked, "Which one of you is a Jew and a Dago and a nigger?" Although he grew up to become a distinguished professor, from that day on he was race-conscious.

Ted, like every other child, was born entirely free of prejudice; his rude awakening to the idea of "otherness" was imposed by the society in which he lived. No child ever came into the world with a hereditary dislike of dark skins, Baptists, immigrants or the United Nations—any more than with a loathing for spinach or purple ties.

Prejudiced attitudes develop only as children grow older under the influence of parents, teachers, associates and the total environment in which they live. And not much older. "Children are aware of racial differences as early as the age of three," says Psychologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark. Alarming attitudes of hostility have been discovered in studies among five, six, and seven-year-olds.

The deepest conviction behind NCCJ's philosophy of brotherhood is that understanding can be taught just as hate can be taught. The first information bulletin published by the Conference (on April 9, 1928) carried an editorial which began: "If goodwill in the interracial sense is to be more than a gesture, it must be predicated upon education." Although the community study and participation movement which NCCJ sparked in the 1930's was directed toward the education of adults, that first issue also carried an article by Bruno Lasker titled "How Children Acquire Race Prejudices."

"Young children," wrote Lasker, "do not seem to know that they have been born with an assortment of dislikes and often behave as though they really enjoyed things which later in life will make them 'sick,' or enjoyed playing with children of other races whose mere presence in the same restaurant twenty or thirty years later will send cold shivers up and down their spines. . . .

"In the matter of race relations, what children think and what they do at different ages [represents] the effectiveness with which society—and especially their own home and set—has impressed them with what is desirable and what is understandable in personal behavior towards persons of other groups. . . . The remedy for objectionable race relations is . . . to watch more carefully over the educational process itself. . . ."

One of the Conference's first moves to encourage intercultural appreciation in schools was a service to aid student committees and teachers to build assembly programs together. A make-believe dinner in honor of Albert Einstein,

attended by famous contemporary scientists (impersonated by students) was the basis for a number of programs in New York public schools in 1931. Teachers were supplied with unit lesson plans in Jewish history, literature and music for classroom use; student leaders, with nccj-prepared outlines, led discussions about the assembly program during home-room periods.

The first nccj educational material, a booklet titled *New Relationships With Jews and Catholics*, was issued in 1934 to meet the increasing demand of Protestant young people interested in resolving interreligious misunderstandings. It was widely used in discussions for the New United Youth Program ("Christian Youth Building a New World") of the time.

In the late 1930's nccj turned its attention more and more to the problems of youth. In 1939, local round tables cooperated with school authorities in developing the theme of "Education for the American Way of Life" during American Education Week. That year, nccj staff members participated in student conferences in which five hundred colleges were represented; and a national tour was arranged for a Protestant, Catholic and Jew, specialists in elementary, secondary and higher education, to confer with parochial and public school administrators and instructors regarding ways and means of cultivating understanding through the normal channels of the curriculum.

A Committee of Scholars and Scientists, set up in 1938 to advise on educational and research activities, was superseded the next year by a Committee on Educational Policies (soon changed to "Organizations"), headed by Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College.

Herbert L. Seamans, University of Washington's "Y" secretary and volunteer director of nccj's Seattle Committee, had joined the nccj staff in January, 1939, to establish a national college program. He became director of the committee

and has continued through the years to serve as staff executive for NCCJ's educational program.

In 1942, NCCJ adopted a reorganization plan designed to streamline its structure for serving "the five main trunk lines of community life" and providing for each department to be composed of members of the Board and other friends of the work, specialists in each field, with a staff member directing each "Commission."

The Commission on Educational Organizations was the first of five established to divide responsibility for effectively promoting the Conference idea through the ready-made channels of American life. The Commission on Religious Organizations followed shortly. Smaller committees and departments served NCCJ interests in other areas until the Commission on Community Organizations (1946), the Commission on Labor-Management Organizations (1948) and the Commission on Mass Communications (1951) were formed to consolidate efforts within each field.

In its first years of work the Commission on Educational Organizations initiated a number of activities which were later assigned to other commissions. Among these were the development of campus interreligious councils, the establishment of a committee to work on religious education materials, and such projects as an illustrated lecture series on "Getting Acquainted With Neighbors" of the three faiths, and the New Haven Neighborhood Project.

During the first two years of the Commission's work, major attention was given to college programs, with more than six hundred colleges and universities participating in some way in the NCCJ program. With the outbreak of World War II, the college work was drastically curtailed, but Director Seamans continued to explore needs and opportunities in the field by attending national educational conferences, discussing research possibilities with faculty groups, canvassing the situation in teachers' colleges, participating in intercol-

legiate student conferences and conferring with groups of school and college leaders all over the country.

One of the men who played a tremendously important role in the development of NCCJ's far-reaching educational program was Dr. Arthur Holly Compton, who served as national (Protestant) Co-Chairman from 1938-48. Nobel Laureate Compton accepted the post upon the death in 1937 of Newton D. Baker, one of NCCJ's founders.

Dr. Compton, then professor of physics at the University of Chicago and later Chancellor of Washington University, was formally installed as Protestant Co-Chairman by Roger W. Straus and Carlton J. H. Hayes at a dinner at New York's Hotel Astor attended by more than fourteen hundred people in November, 1938.

A devout man, like his colleagues Robert Andrews Millikan, Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington and Albert Einstein, Compton had previously devoted much of his time to the institutional activities of religion—work which led irreverent University of Chicago students to tag him with the nickname of "Holy." Compton's father was a minister, his mother a missionary worker. In Chicago Compton was a deacon of Hyde Park Baptist Church, chairman of the University's Board of Social Science & Religion and a YMCA worker.

His service to religious causes was given, not merely because he was brought up in a churchly home, but because the distinguished physicist had thought through over the years to a belief in God and in man's free will in "glimpsing God's purpose in nature and sharing that purpose."

Besides consulting regularly with his Catholic and Jewish Co-Chairmen on broad policies of maintaining good will among the three great faiths, Dr. Compton was especially concerned with NCCJ's educational work. One of his first moves was to write to the presidents of every college, proposing a four-year project of education in human relations involving mobilization of the social sciences, the departments of religion and other studies and suggesting a series of tests

by which the measure of tolerance of the average student could be gauged at various stages of his college career.

His conviction and warning that in this perilous age "Brotherhood is a condition of survival" was developed as early as 1940 when, in an article appearing in the journals of eight state education associations, he wrote:

"The growth of science, through its great advances in communication, its highly specialized and interdependent industries, and the great power given to industrially organized communities, is rapidly bringing about [a] condition where strife endangers everyone and cooperation gives rich rewards to all. . . . It has become literally a matter of life and death that men shall become inspired with the spirit of fellowship. . . .

"The advances of our knowledge and techniques have themselves resulted from contributions from many sources. In my own field of science, Galileo, an Italian Catholic, discovered the laws of falling bodies and started modern science. Newton, a Protestant earnestly concerned with religion, established the laws of mechanics, which were brilliantly developed by Laplace and Lagrange, to whom religion meant little. Radio waves were discovered by Hertz, a German Jew; X-rays by Roentgen, a German Protestant; cosmic rays by Hess, an Austrian Catholic. For the electromagnetic theory which interprets these rays we are chiefly indebted to Maxwell, the English Protestant, Einstein, the German Jew, and de Broglie, the French Catholic."

Over the years, NCCJ's educational commission has been fortunate in securing the enthusiastic support, the good sense and devoted leadership of people in the front ranks of American education. For a period after Dr. MacCracken's resignation in 1943 because of the pressure of other duties, the Commission functioned with three co-chairmen: Dr. Henry W. Holmes of Harvard, the Very Reverend Thomas Plassman, O.F.M., president of St. Bonaventure's Seminary

and Dr. Louis Finkelstein, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

When the work was again placed under a single chairman in 1944, Dr. Howard E. Wilson, then of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, assumed the post. Julius E. Warren, Superintendent of University City, Missouri, schools, served in 1947; Dr. Karl Bigelow of Columbia University, 1948; Theodore D. Rice, New York University, 1949; then-Superintendent Herold C. Hunt of the Chicago schools, 1950; and J. Martin Klotsche, president of Wisconsin State College, 1951-53. Present Commission Chairman is Algo D. Henderson, Professor of Higher Education, University of Michigan.

Among other men who have given invaluable assistance to NCCJ's program are: the Right Reverend Frederick G. Hochwalt of the Educational Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Dr. Monroe Deutsch, provost emeritus of the University of California; Chancellor William C. Tolley of Syracuse University; Professor Willard E. Goslin of Peabody College; Dean L. D. Haskew of the University of Texas; and Professor Otto Kleinberg of Columbia University.

These men and others of similar caliber of all faiths, varying geographical and professional background and interests, make up the forty-man Commission on Educational Organizations. Employing a rare combination of high ideals and firm practicality, of able personnel and effective programming, the Commission has gained the active support and confidence of educators and has come to have an important, though unadvertised place in America's educational scheme of things.

Included within its area of concern are some thirty-five million young Americans enrolled in public and parochial schools, over eighteen hundred colleges and universities with a quarter of a million students and the more than a million teachers at work in the classrooms of the nation.

"The Commission," says Seamans, "has always been clear about the inclusive nature of its intergroup education pro-

gram. We have recognized and sought to fulfill the obligation of the Conference as a specialist organization in inter-religious affairs. NCCJ's historic statement of purpose, however, does not limit its function solely to such relations. There is implicit in it the moral responsibility of religiously motivated citizens to deal with intergroup relations in a broader way and to do so by educational means."

A basic policy of the Commission from its inception has been to enlist the interest and cooperation of the key professional organizations which formulate educational policies and help develop the skills of pupil and teacher. To encourage these groups to undertake intercultural education as an integral part of their planning, the Commission continuously furnished leadership for seminars, stimulated and cooperated in research programs and provided a never-ending stream of literature and speakers for state teachers' conventions and meetings of such bodies as the National Education Association, the American Association of School Administrators and the United States Office of Education. The strategy was aimed at getting schools and colleges themselves to assume responsibility for the vast job of educating more directly and effectively for a cultural democracy.

One of the first problems with which the Commission concerned itself was the matter of religion in education. As early as 1939 NCCJ requested the American Council of Education to conduct a study of the role of religious education, particularly in tax-supported institutions, which would form the basis for a research program designed to integrate religion in American education on a sound basis.

From that time forward, NCCJ consultation and cooperation with the American Council was constant; for many years all of the Commission's national projects for which the organization was willing to assume responsibility were channeled through the American Council.

George Zook, president of the Council until his death two years ago, once recounted how one of NCCJ's staff tackled

him on the subject of education and religion in 1943. "You are interested at the American Council in studying educational problems?" asked the NCCJ man. Zook said yes. "Don't you know that one of the most important questions in education is the relation between public education and religion?" Again Zook agreed. "Well, why don't you make a study of it?" Said Zook: "You don't expect me to take on a potato as hot as that?" "Why not?"

At the moment, Zook was unconvinced. But he couldn't get the conversation off his mind and finally agreed to let three NCCJ representatives, headed by F. Ernest Johnson, professor of education at Columbia Teachers' College and director of research and education for the Federal Council, talk with the Council's Problems and Policy Committee—which Zook called the "Committee of Wise Men" because so many leaders of American education have served on it at one time or another. The committee recognized at once that it was a matter to which consideration should be given.

In cooperation with NCCJ, the Council called a conference on "Religion and Public Education" at Princeton in the spring of 1944. On hand were seventy-five delegates including both educators and religious leaders. At the conclusion of the discussions a standing committee headed by Dr. Johnson was appointed to continue work on the problem.

The committee's first step was the writing of a basic document, on the assumption that if agreement could be reached on an underlying philosophy, other projects could be started. Work began at a meeting held to discuss what the report should include. Johnson wrote a first draft. The members met; Johnson revised; this procedure continued four or five times. Said Zook: "This was a committee document if I ever saw one. Every word was combed. There was a time when I thought we wouldn't be able to get together."

The theme running through the report was that education should at least provide people with the opportunity of developing a dominant philosophy of life by which they

abide and which directs their actions and thinking. Educators, it was felt, should concede that because religion can be and is a dominant philosophy for millions of Americans, schools cannot be as wholly unconcerned about religion as they have been.

"It is very largely a matter of schools taking a friendly point of view toward religion and the churches," Zook said, "and of accepting them as a factor of social life as much as they do the waterworks."

In its report, titled "The Relation of Religion to Public Education—the Basic Principles," the committee recommended an over-all report and continuing study and activities. This was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation, significant because the subject was well beyond the Foundation's normal field of interest, and indicative of an increasing awareness of thoughtful leaders that moral and spiritual values are fundamental to the national welfare.

A 1941 headline, "Home of Springfield Rifle Forges New Weapon for Democracy," heralded an NCCJ-suggested experiment that was to send social scientists off to a brand-new adventure in brotherhood.

Following his first-hand observations of Nazi techniques in the 1930's, Professor Clyde Miller of Columbia Teachers College became convinced that Americans had better do something quickly to immunize themselves against the harmful effects of persuasion for evil ends. With the help of graduate students he founded the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and began the development of methods of dealing with persuasions which caused people automatically to condemn members of various religious, racial, economic, social and political groups. On the basis of these experiments, the Williamstown Institute of 1939 recommended that school authorities and citizens in some typical American communities work together for a period of years to see what could be accomplished.

The Superintendent of Schools of Springfield, Massachu-

setts, Dr. John Granrud, was quick to act upon the suggestion. A committee appointed to look into the motivations in the community for fear, hatred and discrimination concluded that children acquired their prejudices from older children, from parents and other adults, including in some cases teachers and preachers. Thus, the school system alone could not successfully deal with the problem; it required the cooperation of adult organizations.

"In essence," Miller says in *The Process of Persuasion*, published five years after the project got underway, "the Springfield Plan does two things. 1) It conditions children and adults to be decent human beings—decency here being defined by the ethical statements of the prophets of various religions, of Jesus and of the rules of justice and fair play set forth in the United States Constitution. 2) It relates knowledge of the scientific method to human affairs and persuasions."

Although the schools served as the nucleus for the Springfield Plan, a continuous program was created for the adult community in close cooperation with schools. In the lower grades emphasis was placed on "living and learning together" by setting the children to work on a series of decorative panels, depicting "Farmer's Contribution to City Living," and "Friends Across the Sea." A student council in the lower grades launched the smallest children into the assignment of running their own affairs. Junior high school students ransacked files to obtain information on the contribution of different nationality groups to the social, economic and political life of the city. High school students argued the merits of political candidates in the classroom and discussed their personal prejudices frankly.

Soon the entire community was permeated with the idea of the importance of working and learning and playing together. Adult educational forums, dramatization and naturalization ceremonies, efforts to arrive at standards of fair working conditions for domestics, conferences with em-

ployees to eliminate religious or racial discriminations in hiring, revival of the old-fashioned New England town meeting in the election campaigns—these phases of the plan brought a sense of belonging and sharing in a democracy to almost every one of Springfield's one hundred fifty thousand residents.

Creating techniques against harmful persuasion along the Springfield Plan lines, says Miller, "is not as easy as immunization against diphtheria or typhoid. But it works. . . . It seems likely that if we can get ten per cent of the people to use their critical faculty and make their judgments in terms of humane goals, they will influence enough of the balance to abort the persuasions that bring about panics and mass phobias."

Recently, reviewing the effects of the Springfield Plan after more than a decade in operation, now-Superintendent of Schools William J. Sanders said: "The principles of the Plan are now embodied in our common practice. The formal outlines of the plan have atrophied with maturity in the same manner that certain lymphatic glands atrophy when the child is well on its way toward adolescence. The Springfield Plan, then, is one which has accomplished its purpose and its principles are living on in the bones and flesh of the Springfield Public School System."

But the principles and techniques which first saw light in Springfield were far too powerful to be confined to the city limits of the pioneering New England metropolis. The story was told over and over again in books, articles and reports, helping to create an awareness by educator and citizen alike that human relations and intergroup relations were aspects of society demanding urgent attention. But along with the realization that public schools could play a role useful to the entire community, was a general awareness of a lack of know-how for developing an adequate school program.

Many citizens' groups were being formed to deal with

intergroup problems and tensions. But, as one educator put it, in their educational work these groups were often in a position of running to a fire without knowing whether they had water or gasoline in the hose. Many educational programs in schools as well as in communities suffered from a lack of a coherent foundation and adequate techniques. Schools as well as community groups spent time and energy on activities founded on questionable, or at least untried, assumptions. Piecemeal programs prevailed where an integrated attack was needed; verbal teaching and exhortation were employed where more indirect and subtle educational techniques were required.

It remained for NCCJ's Herbert Seamans and Harvard's Howard E. Wilson, chairman at the time of NCCJ's Educational Commission, to give this idea concrete shape and to point out that programs in public schools could not be developed until tested educational procedures were available. And so the idea of a nation-wide exploratory project in intergroup education in public schools, similar to that developed under the Springfield Plan, was born in the summer of 1944.

To assure professional freedom and forestall any suspicion that the project was being used for any organizational promotion, NCCJ made its funds available through the American Council and left the guidance of the project in the hands of the Council and the advisory committee that it appointed. Seamans served as ex-officio member of this committee and local NCCJ offices made available their experience and contacts.

The project, a kind of on-the-job training for teachers, got underway in January, 1945, and continued through August, 1948, under the direction of Dr. Hilda Taba, now of San Francisco State College. Eighteen public school systems from coast to coast participated: Cleveland, Denver, Hartford, Los Angeles County, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, Oakland, Pittsburgh, Portland (Oregon), Providence, Riverside

County (California), St. Louis, San Francisco, Shorewood (Wisconsin), South Bend, Wilmington (Delaware) and the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. In all, more than two hundred fifty local projects in seventy-two individual schools or community groups were undertaken through the combined efforts of some twenty-five hundred classroom teachers, school administrators and community workers.

Projects developed in Minneapolis, for example, give some idea of the scope of the work. Among a score or more were: Establishing community centers in tension neighborhoods; developing curriculum plans in three elementary schools; a survey of intergroup education in the school system; participation with the Mayor's Council on Human Relations; a study of sororities and fraternities in one high school.

The nation-wide program stimulated many such experiments in reshaping school programs in the projects as well as in other schools. Many new educational approaches to group relations were devised for diagnosis and study as well as for teaching and learning. A large group of people were trained and made available for an increasing number of educational enterprises in human relations. A sizable body of publications was written which provided considerable stimulus to schools and teachers not directly connected with the project. Many of these books are now standard reference sources in teacher colleges.

In addition to scores of staff-written articles which appeared in educational journals, the following publications resulted: *Literature for Human Understanding*, *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*, *Sociometry in Group Relations*, *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*, *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, *Focus on Human Relations* and, the final report of the project, *Intergroup Education in Public Schools*.

Of major importance in the long pull was another result noted in the staff's summing up: "The project helped make education for intergroup relations respectable. As sounder

educational approaches were clarified and disseminated, intergroup education ceased to be considered as the exclusive concern of propagandists, hotheads and reformers."

Three months after the project was concluded, the University of Chicago, with the encouragement and financial aid of NCCJ, established a Center for Intergroup Education. Under the continuing direction of Dr. Taba, the work was carried forward for three years by training professionally competent workers, developing and publishing materials and undertaking research in areas crucial for effective programs.

The major points which NCCJ's Educational Commission soon came to stress as experience developed were: 1) that intercultural materials must be integrated into existing courses of study rather than form separate studies; and 2) that the crux of the problem lies in the area of teacher training.

This approach led to another major NCCJ project—the first cooperative effort in the United States to improve teacher education in respect to intergroup education. This study, carried on during a four-year period (1945-49) in cooperation with twenty-four teachers colleges, like the public school project, was distinctly pioneer research.

Directed by Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook, professor of educational sociology at Wayne University, the college study was conducted under the auspices of the National Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education (an affiliate of the American Council) and financed wholly by NCCJ. Before it was completed, scores of faculty, student and lay representatives of the twenty-five colleges had participated in over two hundred experimental study-action projects.

The study's purpose was twofold—to impress prospective teachers with the importance of their role in the elimination of prejudice among their pupils, and to equip them with the tools and methods with which to deal with intergroup prejudices.

The Cook study, too, reinforced the thesis that NCCJ be-

lieved true: that in any community in which schools are sensitive to human relationships, the community also is sensitive to human relationships. The need for united action was pointed up strongly in the two-volume report on the project, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations and Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, which New York *Times* Education Editor Benjamin Fine termed "significant . . . probably the most comprehensive study of its kind ever undertaken in the educational profession."

The study readily conceded that developing intergroup practices as a part of all education was not easy, nor the solution imminent. Yet it concluded that teachers could be trained effectively in solving school-community problems, and noted that more and more teachers were beginning to recognize the importance of their posts and seeking to bring about better human relations among all their students and the community.

Summer Workshops for teachers have been a fundamental part of NCCJ's long-range education plans since 1941, when twenty-one public school teachers met for eight weeks at Colorado State College in Greeley. The teachers frankly analyzed their own prejudices and then studied the content and method of their regular courses with a view to revising them in ways that would immunize children against the development of prejudice.

Since 1941 the Conference has sponsored more than one hundred sixty workshops in human relations at fifty leading universities and colleges over the country. In the past dozen years, more than seven thousand educators—teachers, principals, superintendents and community leaders—have enrolled for two to six weeks of concentrated training in the psychology and techniques of intergroup education in these summer programs.

The typical workshop is composed of about thirty educators of differing races and religions. The individual workshop is aided, but not controlled, by NCCJ. The Conference sup-

plies lists of books and experts for reference, a backlog of experience in group prejudice studies and some sixty thousand dollars annually for partial scholarships at the various sessions.

One of the problems of Southern workshoppers originally was an almost total lack of contact with Negroes. A Tennessee schoolmarm who taught math and social science once found herself working with Negroes of her own educational level for the first time. One of the most heated topics of discussion at this particular workshop was, "Should Negroes be admitted to the University of North Carolina?"

Using this proposition as a basis, the group acted out a spontaneous playlet, with whites and Negroes reversing roles and ad-libbing the pros and cons. The white members acted as Negroes putting the plea before the University's president and trustees (played by the Negroes). "Maybe, in fifty or seventy-five years, but not now," the delegation was told. "You can't push these things too fast."

The first speaker from the "Negro" side was the lady teacher from Tennessee. In the middle of her reply, she stopped suddenly, dropped her role. "You know," she said, "I've heard all the white objections to equal rights of education for Negroes all my life. This morning for the first time, they have a very hollow ring."

NCCJ Executive Vice-President Sterling Brown, who headed (among many others) a six-week workshop at Southern Methodist University in 1952, said the members studied themselves even more intensely than the subject matter. "One of my group found out for the first time that he could work with a Jew," he said. In the usual round of group discussions, film studies, field trips and special talks, a rural community principal got to know a nun so well that he gave a "watermelon bust" to the sisters of her teaching order, past whose door he had "tiptoed for forty years" without venturing inside.

The usual program of study at workshops is to investigate

the background of prejudice in a particular area, to discuss the possible methods which can be brought to bear in combating it, and then to make a general recommendation.

The following letter, written to an NCCJ official by a young teacher who attended a summer workshop at the University of Texas in 1953, dramatically illustrates what a moving experience the program can provide:

"It is amazing to see people change in a brief period of three weeks some of the things they have lived with since infancy," she wrote. "We had a wonderful group of thirty-two people, but more racial prejudice was there than in the group last year. I want to tell you about one little lady who was perhaps fifty-five years old. The first day it fell her lot to sit by a Negro. Well, she just died. She found things wrong with her chair and Austin was too hot and she was going home and not coming back. . . .

"The first week she came to me (as chairman) and informed me that she 'would not work on a committee with any nigger.' I told her that was not necessary at all and that I did not think she should. So we formed a new committee of some people who were on fringes of other committees, and I told all the Negroes (confidentially) not to get on it. I knew all of them well. . . .

"Well, that little woman who was so full of tension the first week that she didn't hear a lecture or a word of any kind went further in change than any person I have ever seen in my life under any conditions. The last week we had a social in the home of a gracious, lovely Negro lady—a chicken dinner it was. That little woman was the first one there and when I got there . . . she was having the time of her life. . . . It was next to a miracle.

"The clasping of hands as we stood around those tables Friday morning in our last adjournment while we sang *Blest Be the Tie That Binds* went deeper than anything I have ever been a part of before. To see that little old woman standing there with a Negro on either side of her singing

the words of that beautiful old hymn from the depth of her heart simply brought me to tears. I was just too full to contain myself. Even our director broke down. After we two broke into tears, others did also, and by the time we got to the end only a few strong souls were carrying the song alone . . . Everybody was crying of his own feelings, but I was crying of joy. To see that woman on her first day in the workshop, frustrated and tense, and then to see her beside those Negroes, singing from the bottom of her heart, was the most wonderful thing I have ever seen . . .

"I want to thank the National Conference for making possible such an opportunity for people to get together and take a better look at themselves so that they can then look better at others . . . There is no course, no seminar, no experience in my life that has ever affected me as has my two years in the workshop . . . I'm so grateful to NCCJ that I shall be indebted to them as long as I live, and I hope that along the way I can share some of what I've learned. . . ."

Conferences for college youth have also been sponsored extensively by NCCJ over the years. One such, held in Chicago not long ago, brought together forty-four student leaders from nineteen institutions to confer with professional intergroup experts from a wide range of agencies. The New York area has held both college and high school conferences annually since 1945. Regional NCCJ offices conduct thousands of programs in high schools each year, including day, weekend, and week-long conferences.

The annual Youth Council of St. Louis, for example, now in its eighth year, annually brings together a thousand or more students, representative of all races and cultures from every high school in the city. In Southern California a high school leadership program has become an Anytown, U.S.A., camp project involving hundreds of young people each year. A Baltimore high school conference held during Brotherhood Week attracted twenty-five hundred students.

Detroit's annual High School Institute, with an average

attendance of four hundred students, has had city-wide influence. For several years, the New York region has conducted a leadership training conference for some fifty students each summer. In Virginia, NCCJ's Joseph Murphy has since 1949 conducted a one-day youth camp at which both white and Negro students have met to discuss intergroup relations. A Negro student was elected chairman of the 1952 meeting.

NCCJ has worked cooperatively with the United States National Student Association since 1948. One joint effort was the publication in 1950 of a program manual titled *Human Relations in the Educational Community*.

Publication of manuals in collaboration with national educational organizations has also been an important NCCJ service to American educators. Among these have been *Democratic Human Relations*, the Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, a book now in use by eight thousand social studies teachers; *From Sea to Shining Sea*, a sixty-four-page manual published in cooperation with the American Association of School Administrators and used by most of the nation's seven thousand school officials as a casebook for human relations education. Similar projects include a special intercultural education issue of *The English Teachers Journal*, reaching twenty-five thousand teachers through the National Council of Teachers of English; a special issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* devoted to intergroup education; and the yearbook of the California Elementary Principals Association titled *Education for Cultural Unity*.

A series of Intergroup Education Pamphlets resulting from and written by those associated with NCCJ activities have long been on educators' best-selling lists. These include: *Readings in Intergroup Relations*, *Feelings Are Facts*, *Role Playing the Problem Story*, *The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions* and *Teachers and the Community*. The Commission also provides teachers with numerous other pamphlets, as

well as books, bulletins, reprints, posters, motion picture films, filmstrips, recordings, dramatic skits and other materials.

One of the most significant NCCJ contributions to teacher guidance and the expanding role of intergroup education was a broad two-year survey (1946-48) of prejudice in textbooks. Directed by Dr. Howard E. Wilson at Harvard University, the study was made possible by a grant given to the Conference in memory of Sophie Biow, and was again channeled through the American Council on Education.

A staff of four worked with Dr. Wilson at Cambridge. One was a Catholic woman with teaching and newspaper experience; another a young man who had found that his identity with the Jewish group made it difficult to advance as a teacher; one was a Negro teacher, educated in the South; the other a hardbitten Midwestern Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Besides familiarity with the point of view of his own group, each of the four were specialists in either history, literature, psychology or sociology.

The study, no witch-hunt, but a professional task approved by the Textbook Publishers Institute of America, set out to provide factual, straightforward guidance in the selection and use of materials to classroom teachers, administrators, textbook commissions and committees, Boards of Education and the public at large.

The work embraced the analysis of two hundred sixty-six school texts on United States and world history, human geography, modern problems, literature and biology; twenty-one college texts in psychology and sociology; twenty-five college orientation manuals; one hundred children's library books and courses of study from sixty widely distributed school systems. In addition, questionnaires were filled out by three hundred teachers and consultations were held with minority groups, psychologists, sociologists and educational leaders.

The committee report, published in 1949 under the title,

Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, found offensive references to racial, religious and national groups, tending to perpetuate antagonisms and tensions, in much of the material studied. With few exceptions, however, textbooks and courses of study were found free of intentional bias. Omissions of pertinent data, undue simplification and unwarranted generalizations were the "greatest weakness" uncovered. Almost none of the textbooks used the word "race" with any degree of precise meaning, or adequately discussed the nature, control or possibility of diminishing prejudice within the individual person.

Some specific points of criticism: Immigrants are referred to in patronizing terms; the later arrivals are called "new" immigrants and described as arriving in "hordes" or "swarms." Three-fourths of the space allotted to Jews in histories deals with events prior to 79 A.D.; there are inaccuracies and generalizations and "little to offset the stereotypes of Jews which abound in contemporary social thinking."

Data concerning Negroes pertain generally to periods before 1876; books perpetuate "plantation" stereotypes. The stereotype of the Mexican peon is substituted for up-to-date information about the Spanish-speaking minority. Offensive generalizations occur in references to the Asiatic minority in the United States, connoting racial inferiority and "white man psychology." Too little opportunity is given for the study of the urgent problems of "scapegoating" and segregation. The fault lies not only with the texts, the committee determined, but with the courses of study for which textbooks are prepared. Only as those courses of study "come to grips with basic issues in the complex problems of human relations," even though some of them "are inevitably controversial," will textbooks be substantially improved. With this road to prejudice well marked, many educators and publishers have set out to hew through the paper jungle of stereotypes to make sure that boys and girls of tomorrow are less likely to become easy victims of hate.

Not long ago *Time* set its correspondents on a reportorial job that led the editors to conclude: "Whatever else may be said about it, the field called 'human relations' has become one of the most rapidly expanding endeavors in the postwar academic world."

What sparked this intense interest in higher education with the problems of brotherhood? Every activity undertaken by NCCJ in its twenty-seven years has helped create a widening atmosphere of concern about achieving goodwill. But one of the specific embers from which the flame grew was the Johns Hopkins University lecture series on "Religion's Contribution to Life," sponsored by NCCJ's Baltimore Round-Table back in 1938.

The enthusiastic reception given these lectures, Southern Area Director Andrew W. Gottschall had hoped, would lead to the establishment of a department of human relations at Johns Hopkins. But before the idea could be implemented, he was transferred to Miami, where he helped institute a similar two-year series of lectures on religion at the University of Miami. At the conclusion of the series, University officials agreed to explore the idea of such a department.

After many months of conferences and investigation into methods and financing, arrangements were completed, largely through Gottschall's interest and initiative. The establishment of the Bronston Professorship in Human Relations at the University of Miami in September, 1947, marked the first time in American educational history that a specific approach was made on a college campus to analyze and study intergroup relations. Not since the late Dr. Ernest Groves inaugurated classes in marriage and the family at Boston University has such a unique educational step been taken.

A short time afterward, because of the expressed wishes of University officials and Benjamin E. Bronston, donor of the endowment for the chair, the first full-fledged department of human relations was founded. Within a year the

department was offering successively the first undergraduate minor in human relations, the first undergraduate major in the field and the first graduate minor in human relations offered by any Southern university. Courses for Negroes were inaugurated in 1952 in the downtown section of the University.

Student interest was phenomenal; so great, in fact, that during the first year a number of enterprising students forged registration permits and sold them on a campus black market to students unable to register in the packed courses. (The University later was obliged to set up a fool-proof system.) Enrollment has been greater each year; in later years over four hundred students signed up annually for such courses as "Patterns of Human Relations."

Designed to "deal directly with current problems," and to pioneer in "programs and methods which will make clear the ethical values and the concepts of human relations upon which our political system rests," the department's outreach into the community as well as its effect on intergroup relations of students has been profound. For example, at least three fraternities broke long-established pledging patterns and crossed religious lines to secure desired numbers; an interreligious program soon became a part of the regularly scheduled Freshman Week activities.

For the first three years the department was under the leadership of Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, previously dean of students at Lynchburg (Virginia) College. During his tenure, as well as that of his successor, Professor Miller A. F. Ritchie, the Bronston Chair's occupant was besieged by students seeking information for term papers, and increasingly devoted more and more time to both campus and community extra-curricular activities. Dr. Lovejoy during his three years in Miami made more than one hundred fifty public speeches, appeared on numerous radio programs on seven stations and was asked repeatedly for advice and counsel by civic organizations. One of his speeches, on the

occasion of the arrival of the Freedom Train to Miami, was delivered before the first completely nonsegregated audience ever to meet in the city's municipal auditorium.

In 1948, with a grant from NCCJ's educational commission, Columbia University's Teachers' College set up a graduate program in human relations leading to the doctor of philosophy and doctor of education degrees. Dr. Martin P. Chworowsky, who had served as associate director of the educational commission since 1946 and had helped work out a program for the University of Miami's department, served as professor in charge until 1951. Dr. Samuel Flowerman, formerly research director for the American Jewish Committee, served during the following academic year, when the program was terminated.

In the fall of 1951 the Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations was established at the University of Philadelphia under the joint sponsorship of the University, NCCJ and Greenfield, a Philadelphia financier and philanthropist who practices the brotherhood he preaches in his own business operations.

The Center, which Dr. Chworowsky helped set up and now directs, gives three graduate and one undergraduate course, and like the Miami department, cooperates with community projects in many ways. Its staff has conducted classes for principals and teachers as part of the in-service program of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, acted as consultant in employment and housing problems, made a report on the integration of Negro policemen in the City's police department and is now studying problems brought on by new interracial camping policies of several neighborhood centers.

Chworowsky, a friendly man with wavy gray hair, displays little preoccupation with the fancy terminology of his field. He smiles, tolerantly of course, at the suggestion that the field of human relations is not worthy of so much academic consideration, points to the incalculable cost America pays

for its failure to build up social responsibility. People who knock the study of human relations, he says, are "often whistling in the dark—it's a defense mechanism. They may be afraid of their inability to cope with the problems of intergroup tensions. Or they may not want anyone to call attention to an outlet for their hatred."

The criticism of human relations that, after all, "it's just common sense made difficult," leads Chworowsky to say: "Common sense is often unexamined, unreflected conduct. Everybody thinks he's an expert on human relations, just as so many parents fancy they are experts on raising children simply because they have one or two."

Too often, he believes, social workers and psychiatrists have stressed only the needs and personality of the individual. Teaching people to see themselves as a member of a group and then as a representative of the whole is, therefore, one of the main jobs for human relations experts.

In helping to bring about the acceptance of the idea of university centers in human relations—which could prove as important in their field as medical schools in theirs—NCCJ has played a part in the creation of departments and chairs at Boston University, New York University and elsewhere across the nation.

The program initiated and conducted by the Commission on Educational Organizations is a vast one, reaching millions of young Americans each year through work with teachers, teaching materials, curriculum, school life and extracurricular activities, and through all the agencies by which schools and colleges touch the minds and hearts of people.

As a result, human relations has come to be emphasized more and more as a fourth objective of United States schools, taking its place with the agreed by-products of all good teaching—character building, responsible citizenship and physical health.

NCCJ recognizes that there are no permanent fixed gains in education work in intergroup relations because there is

no sociological, automatic transfer of acquired traits in human relations, any more than there is a biological transfer of acquired traits. Each generation, therefore, faces the challenge of carrying on the educational process, renewing its access to scientific information and generating the spiritual motivation for brotherhood.

NCCJ's role and never-ending task in educating for the good life in human relations was recently summed up this way by Dr. Howard E. Wilson:

"A far-flung and challenging and constructive and far-sighted movement in education has been put underway. It is underway because the National Conference of Christians and Jews has stimulated and supported the movement. When the history of education during the Twentieth Century is written, it will contain a bold and brilliant chapter on this movement, recording the way in which education turned its constructive forces to the improvement of the complex sociological and ethical problem of human relations.

"And, it may be hoped, your children and mine will live in a somewhat better, more humane, increasingly democratic society because our generation started and supported and made progress in this movement for improving group relations through education."

EIGHT

UNITY WITHOUT UNIFORMITY

"The human race . . . will be powerless to emerge from the present crisis and desolation to go forward to a more harmonious future unless it restrains and controls the forces of division and discord by means of a sincere spirit of brotherhood uniting all classes, all races and all nations with one bond of love."

1

POPE PIUS XII

TO HIS ARDENT and somewhat select group of fans, Dr. J. B. Matthews is admirably known as "Mr. Anti-Communist." A self-styled Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Matthews' "successive selections of panaceas" have moved him from religious fundamentalism to socialism to pacifism to Communism and back. He once testified that he had been a member of ninety-four left-wing organizations. As the revolutionary Mr. Hyde, he visited Soviet Russia five times.

Since the nineteen thirties Matthews has busily engaged himself in the study of United States Communism; for over six years he served as director of research for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among numerous books, e.g., *The Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler*, and articles the former Methodist missionary has found time to write, was a piece on "Communism and the Colleges" in the May, 1952, *American Mercury*. Although Matthews included some of the most eminent, anti-Communist churchmen in the country in this list of "top collaborationists," it attracted little attention.

A subsequent article in the July, 1953, issue of *American*

Mercury titled "Reds and Our Churches" was more successful. At the time it appeared, Matthews was serving as executive director for the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, headed by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin. The opening sentence of the article made the charge that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States is composed of Protestant clergymen."

During the past seventeen years, Matthews said in the article, seven thousand Protestant clergymen have served "the Kremlin's conspiracy" as party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents or unwitting dupes. Matthews named one hundred two, actually including Old Testament prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. Despite the qualifications buried at the end of the article, the intention was obviously to create a sensational stir; the press immediately reported the story with few attempts at interpreting Matthews' charges.

What happened after the unreasonable attack was published is a measure of how sensitive Americans have become to divisive threats since the bitter 1928 political campaign. The National Council of Churches, along with individual Protestants, were outspokenly incensed. More significantly, so were Catholic and Jewish spokesmen who came to the defense of Protestant clergymen smeared in the generalized accusation.

"In weakening confidence that Protestant churchmen have in their church and its leaders," said *The Christian Advocate*, official organ of the Methodist Church, "Mr. Matthews is doing precisely what atheistic Communism wants. Either it is deliberate Communist propaganda or it is a revelation of the degree of stupidity and misrepresentation that can be reached only in an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and fear." The charges were "venomous," the proof "puerile" to *The Christian Century*. Other religious periodicals stingingly critical included *The Lutheran*, *The Churchman*, *The Chris-*

tian Register and the Catholic magazines, *America* and *The Commonweal*.

To Matthews' "proof" that five hundred twenty-eight ministers were somehow subversive because they signed a petition opposing the McCarran (Internal Security) Act, the Reverend James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York asked in a sermon: "Since when, in this country, does opposition to federal legislation render one a traitor?" Of this kind of indiscriminate judgment, the Reverend Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr wrote in *Look*, "Matthews reveals himself as almost as dangerous to democracy in the anti-Communist phase of his career as he was in its Communist phase. . . . He has identified with considerable accuracy the slightly more than a dozen fellow-travelers in the churches. But his talk of thousands of sympathizers and his total lack of precision and discrimination can but result in confusion in our common life. . . ."

In the midst of the storm of protest, NCCJ quickly recognized the importance of keeping the battle against Communism—in which all sincere religious leaders are engaged—from becoming a source of religious conflict. Protestants and Jews had first joined together in NCCJ to defend Catholics against the attacks of bigotry stemming from Al Smith's candidacy; similarly, Protestants and Catholics closed ranks to battle anti-Semitism in the thunder of Nazi propaganda of the nineteen thirties. Now, with Protestant loyalty and integrity under attack, Catholics and Jews regrouped for the mutual defense of the third side of America's religious triangle.

Many citizens felt that President Eisenhower should speak out about the situation. Most felt that he would be more likely to act if individuals of the three faiths appealed to him jointly. Officials of the National Council already had talked with Congressmen and Administration leaders for several days. NCCJ leaders, after studied consultation, agreed that to remain silent would be a dereliction of principle. A message from the co-chairmen of the Commission on

Religious Organizations, it was decided, would be both appropriate and consistent with Conference actions in the past. Accordingly, such a message was drafted. Since the temper of the times suggested it, a call was made to the White House to see if the message would cause any embarrassment to the President. A negative reply was received and on July 9 the following telegram went out:

"The sweeping attack on the loyalty of Protestant clergymen and the charge that they are the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus is unjustified and deplorable. This is a matter of vital concern to the nation. You are to be congratulated on your recent warning against casting doubt on the loyalty of the churches and synagogues.

"We fully recognize the right of Congress to investigate the loyalty of any citizen regardless of the office he may occupy, ecclesiastical or otherwise. But destroying trust in the leaders of Protestantism, Catholicism or Judaism by wholesale condemnation is to weaken the greatest American bulwark against atheistic materialism and Communism."

The wire was signed by co-chairmen Father John A. O'Brien, author-in-residence at the University of Notre Dame; Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and (acting co-chairman) the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York. (The Rev. Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, President of the New Brunswick, New Jersey, Theological Seminary, Protestant co-chairman, later succeeded by Dr. Bonnell, was in South Africa.)

The action was taken, Clinchy said later, "as prudently and sincerely as God gave us to act in the particular circumstances. There was no political connivance on the part of the Conference. We were not in a position to predict, to question or to challenge the ensuing White House action."

Several hours after receiving the wire, the President released it to the press, along with his reply to the co-chairmen:

"...I want you to know at once that I fully share the

convictions you state. Generalized and irresponsible attacks that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America. Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency. And when these attacks—whatever their professed purpose be—condemn such a vast portion of the churches or clergy as to create doubt in the loyalty of all, the damage to our nation is multiplied.

“If there be found any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy.

“The churches of America are citadels of our faith in individual freedom and human dignity. This faith is the living source of all our spiritual strength. And this strength is our matchless armor in our worldwide struggle against the forces of godless tyranny and oppression. Dwight D. Eisenhower.”

Historians may argue for many years about the significance of the political events which followed. But the action of the NCCJ's Religious Commission unquestionably will be viewed as a high point of interreligious cooperation in a period of American history characterized by fear, suspicion and hysterical, scatter-gun attacks on men and motives.

One hour and six minutes after the President issued his statement, Senator McCarthy expressed to the author of “Reds and Our Churches” his “deep regret that you are quitting our committee.” Said the New York *Times*' Arthur Krock: “The issue between the President and the Senator was joined as never before.” The protest walkout on the following day of the Democratic members of the McCarthy subcommittee marked the first time the Senator's rule of the far-ranging investigating group had been successfully challenged.

“There is no record that NCCJ has ever sought to favor any political party,” the Dallas *News*' Lynn W. Landrum has written. “Politics has nothing to do with God. There is no

record that the National Conference ever took a stand or sought to take a stand for or against the left or the right, the rich or the poor, the liberal or the reactionary side of anything. It has one message, one purpose, one objective. Good men of good will can differ in their faiths and still be good men of good will. . . .”

NCCJ's major concern in the political life of the nation, growing as it did out of the bitter 1928 Presidential campaign, has been to seek from all citizens and candidates a reaffirmation of the principles of American democracy and to emphasize that matters of race, creed or national origin have no place in a campaign—not to pull any punches in a campaign, but (in Roscoe Drummond's phrase) to curtail the “rabbit punches.”

NCCJ has in many instances been able to do just that over the years in local and state campaigns. In 1940, the Conference for the first time obtained pledges of fair play from Presidential Candidates Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie. Similar statements have been given in every national campaign since then. In 1952 Dwight Eisenhower made this appeal: “Without tolerance, without understanding of each other or without a spirit of brotherhood, we would soon cease to exist as a nation.” Said Adlai E. Stevenson: “We can ill afford to exhibit to the world either incompetence or injustice in dealing with the relations of racial or religious groups.”

The Conference, made up of religiously motivated people working on matters of civic concern, from the beginning has recognized that democracy is essential to religion even as religion is to a free society. It has always emphasized the need for interreligious cooperation in the cause of brotherhood, regardless of whether the problems of prejudice and bigotry stem from a neighborhood spat or from the unleashing of totalitarian forces and ideas. But inculcating the idea in American folkways has often gone against the grain of tradition.

Part of the problem arises from NCCJ's Protestant origins. Because Protestants have always been the majority religious group, the outbreaks of overt hostilities that have marred United States history have most frequently been directed at Catholics or Jews. The "native-born" riots against the Irish immigrants in the eighteen thirties, the Know-Nothing movement, the infamous APA, the revival of the KKK in the nineteen twenties, the switch from sheets to shirts following the 1929 depression, and sporadic contemporary activities directed against Jews or Roman Catholics—Protestantism has had to bear the onus of all of these.

It was because of the distress and shame of thoughtful members of the Protestant majority, who believed that Protestants should consciously accept the largest share of responsibility for the cultivation and maintenance of wholesome intergroup relations, that NCCJ was created. But suspicion dies hard. Throughout its years, there have been individuals in each of the three major faiths who have withheld or given scant support to NCCJ because of unfounded fears that participation would stop proselytism, compromise their religious convictions or at least lead to the notion that "one religion is as good as another."

This particular rub between members of the three faiths, occurring infrequently at NCCJ public gatherings, was summed up this way by a prominent Catholic clergyman: "It is true, of course, that an occasional speaker will get off the beam and express the conviction that one religion is as good as another. It seems to me that that sort of thing could be heard at almost any meeting where non-Catholics gather, for example at a meeting of the Rotary Club. But if our Catholic men in the United States must avoid all possibility of contact, however slight, with indifferentism, they had better take up their residence in the Galapagos Islands."

On the subject of indifferentism, however, NCCJ has officially declared that it "acknowledges the freedom of the Catholic or the Jew or the Protestant to hold that his faith

is the one true faith. It does not affirm such a holding by any one of the three for it could obviously do so only at the expense of the other two; but neither does it disaffirm. It is not indifferentist, therefore. It is simply, as it must be, non-preferential."

Indifference—not religious indifferentism—has been perhaps the chief obstruction to NCCJ efforts to achieve unity without uniformity, cooperation without compromise. A conspicuous concentration upon the problems and prosperity of each man's group and too little sense of the need for cultivation of universal relationships, Conference leaders believe, can lead only to the mire of inertia.

Although the Conference has the widespread support of individual Protestants, Catholics and Jews all over the country, it has not sought nor desired official or formal representation from Catholic, Protestant and Jewish ecclesiastical bodies. There was a time when many of the breakdowns in community life were rooted in misinformation about Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. The pattern of the trio served a temporary need. Slowly the Conference began to move into a more mature approach and has learned during its second decade to keep apart from considerations of revealed religion, doctrine and dogma, and confined its work solely to the realm of civic relationships.

On the subject of building channels of communication effective enough so that members of the different faiths can learn to trust each other's motives, Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester said recently that he was appalled at how little Christians know about the faith of the Jews—as indicated in thousands of letters resulting from his book, *What the Jews Believe*.

"This abysmal ignorance," he said, "is equalled only by that of Jews about Christianity. We must cultivate better understanding based upon genuine contacts and fruitful experience. Precisely because there are differences we should

maintain instruments of cooperation and channels of communication.

"I am not suggesting that differences are unimportant. They are very important. That which makes a Catholic a good Catholic is crucial to his life. The attitudes and teachings of his denomination are of the most far-reaching importance to the Protestant. I certainly would not be a good Jew if I took the position that what I believed and how I worship doesn't really matter. Of course they matter. They are essential to my being a Jew.

"But I do maintain that we can hold these differences and still respect each other, learn from each other, live as friends together. That is the genius of America—its capacity to welcome, accept and achieve greatness through diversity."

Father O'Brien, of the Religious Commission and author of NCCJ's widely-circulated *The American Dream*, has this to say about NCCJ in *A Catholic Platform of Good-will*:

"NCCJ is an organization wherein the Catholics of the United States can effectively cooperate with men of goodwill in working for enduring peace, social justice, fair employment practices, honest administration in city, county, state and federal government; in working for the eradication of religious, racial and class prejudice, bigotry, bitterness and strife; for the removal of the Communist menace and the danger to human rights and liberties . . .

"It strives for objectives (so often stressed by Pope Pius XII) not on a secularist basis but explicitly on the basis of the Fatherhood of God . . . In the light of pronouncements of our Supreme Pontiffs . . . and of the objectives and methods of the Conference, it will be seen that the latter offers a splendid instrumentality for Catholic collaboration . . ."

Between the three groups, however, there are deep-set and serious differences; in modern times, many of these tensions pivot around the principle of separation of Church and State. When such differences break into the open, the

Conference seeks not to resolve the matter but to help assure that issues are discussed on their own merits, free from emotionalism and vituperation.

When President Roosevelt named Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican in 1940, the NCCJ board declared in a public statement that "It is not within the province of NCCJ to pass upon issues about which there is no clear agreement among or within our constituent groups. What concerns us primarily is that in these critical times, we of America should be on guard lest differences of opinion, legitimate in themselves, lead to acrimony and unjust suspicion. . . ."

Similarly, in 1951 NCCJ urged Americans to temper their reactions to President Truman's appointment of General Mark W. Clark as Ambassador to the Vatican and not to permit differences "to impair the friendliness, understanding and cooperation among Americans of different faiths on matters of common concern." Again emotions reached the boiling point, but debate was generally calmer and more deliberate. The very real and important issue is not likely to be resolved soon, but some progress has been made in discussing it with more light and less heat.

Another incident which for a time threatened a serious setback to interreligious cooperation was the publication of Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. In presenting his views on many issues that honestly and deeply disturb thoughtful non-Catholics, Blanshard took occasion to castigate NCCJ for, as he put it, blandly ignoring the Catholic position on the "One True Faith," for withholding its criticism of Catholic marriage legislation, for remaining silent in the face of the general provisions of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and for failing to speak out against parochial schools. These things, he said, show that the Catholic hierarchy is "bigoted in regard to both Protestantism and Jewry."

Blanshard implied that Catholics could not get along

with fellow citizens of other faiths unless they surrendered their Catholicism, criticized NCCJ because it did not condemn the Catholic Church for its "policy of non-cooperation on both the religious and civic levels."

In answering the charges, Clinchy said that NCCJ did not condemn the Catholic policy of non-cooperation on the civic level because there is no such policy. On the religious or theological level, he said, NCCJ does not believe that the adherents of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism must admit that their respective faiths are wrong, or even that they might be wrong, as a condition of participating in the work of good will.

"Universal cooperation on the theological level is impossible to anyone subscribing to a definite, supernatural religion. What Mr. Blanshard is saying, of course, is not that this organization of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, dedicated as it is to cooperation in the civic field and to the mitigation of prejudice and bigotry, is not doing what it ought, but that it can't do anything at all; that such an organization is inherently impossible in this country because, he alleges, Catholic principles and practices are repugnant and intolerable to other Americans."

While he noted that some of the charges might give well-disposed readers pause, Clinchy said that he was not too apprehensive about the effect of the book on Catholic-non-Catholic relations. "Undiscriminating readers," he pointed out, "who are looking for a stick to beat the Catholic Church with, will find this a pretty good stick. But such people always manage to find one kind of stick or another, and I doubt that the availability of this additional one is going to make a great deal of difference in their behavior or its effectiveness."

As long as Catholics, Protestants, Jews and those in the Asian religious cultures continue to differ, encounters will emerge in old and ever-new forms. Bitterness and rancor, however, need not mar future relations. Cultures in the

family of mankind can manage their differences as individuals do—with understanding, good will and love in the successful adjustments of kith and kin groups.

The ways in which human beings react is a product of the total social forces in a given generation. And the American society, consciously and unconsciously, will continue to produce prejudiced people and, too often, professional hate-mongers, until all the institutions which man creates accept the responsibility to produce ideas, feelings, habits and motivations for brotherhood.

But, many Christian theologians assert, it will take an eternity to redeem man, who is hopeless except in the grace of God. Evil will continue to play its leading role generation after generation; nothing on this dreary earth will get better until Christ, hope of the world, returns to judge and sanctify it.

NCCJ agrees that close to the surface, human beings have indecent, uncivilized impulses and that the family of mankind will always have to cope with incidents of frustrated, dishonest, anti-social relationships because of the evil in man. Nevertheless, it holds the socially optimistic view that to an extent man's destiny in human relations can be controlled by a vigilant and continuing education for brotherhood in churches and synagogues, schools and other institutions and organizations which man creates, believes in and lives by.

"Fortunately, the majority of the people pay serious attention to convention," says Clinchy. "If society reproves people who are decent and just in social relations, and if it applauds restrictions, you can't expect the prevailing mores to be brotherly. But if, on the contrary, you can get society to applaud a person for practicing brotherhood and pin ribbons on for inclusiveness, then you can bring about folkways characterized by traits of brotherhood.

"Long man-hours of research in the sciences studying man and society, experimental pedagogy, and studies advancing man's understanding of moral motivations and ethical power,

will sustain this progress. The basis is God's moral imperative for a single family of mankind."

Although NCCJ from the beginning has formulated its program with the continuing help of religious officials, laymen and organizations, it was not until the reorganization of 1942 that a specific commission was set up to further the Conference's aims among the nation's churches and synagogues. The first co-chairmen of the Commission of Religious Organizations were Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Rabbi Israel Goldstein and Father Edward J. Walsh, C.M. Its first director, John H. Elliott, who shaped the program, was also author of one of NCCJ's most widely-used discussion pamphlets, "Building Bridges of Goodwill."

Today the Commission, under Director Allyn Robinson, consists of forty-eight prominent religious leaders widely representative of the religious life of the nation. Under their guidance, clergy and religious leaders come together in conferences and institutes; materials are produced that aid in the intergroup programs of churches and synagogues; programs are provided for theological seminaries; leadership is supplied for an ever-enlarged summer youth conference program; campus interreligious activities are stimulated; and military chaplains are aided in their interreligious work.

The field of the Commission is the two hundred ninety-four thousand churches and synagogues in the United States, which reach ninety-five million Americans. It works in active cooperation with the various denominations and national religious organizations. The Commission encourages these organizations to set up special committees to advance the cause of brotherhood throughout each ecclesiastical body, and prepares and encourages religious groups to prepare study outlines and discussion material on the subject of relationships among the various faiths.

The Commission also cooperates with such agencies as the National Council of Churches, particularly its Division of Christian Education, the Synagogue Council of America

and the Commission of American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America. Round-table committees of clergymen are encouraged to meet regularly in every city, program materials are supplied to women's, men's and youth groups of the churches and continuing projects are carried out with special religious groups such as the Y's, the Knights of Columbus, the Catholic Daughters of America, the United Council of Churchwomen and Hillel Clubs.

The Commission currently is engaged in a far-reaching program to promote the common good "through an inventory of our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood." The actual work of studying the attitudes of the American people and recommending steps for improved group relations is being conducted by national organizations and their affiliates and local groups. The Commission is providing materials and NCCJ's sixty-two offices are cooperating in the effort. The findings and recommendations will be presented to the American people through the President of the United States.

During Brotherhood Week each year, the Commission does an intensive job of helping to stimulate through letters, personal contact and literature both the religious press and national and local religious organizations. The result has been an increasingly widespread attention to and observance of the occasion by these groups. Other aspects of Commission activity are the syndication of articles and scripts to religious periodicals and radio programs, and cooperation with magazines such as the *International Journal of Religious Education* in underwriting and helping to prepare special issues on interreligious and interracial relations. A recent outstanding example of the many publications and audio-visual materials furnished to religious leaders by the Commission is *And Crown Thy Good*, a manual on interreligious cooperation on the college campus.

The youth work of the Commission falls largely into two categories: providing summer conference leadership for courses in interreligious understanding, and stimulating

church and synagogue groups in projects to build good will. Many Protestant summer youth conferences in 1954 had classes on "Building Bridges of Understanding" with rabbis and other leaders provided by NCCJ. Stress is laid on practical action in local communities.

Realizing that future ministers and rabbis of churches and synagogues must be reached, the Commission each year provides special material for students and sends speakers to theological seminaries. NCCJ-sponsored programs have been heard almost annually by seminary students at Yale, Union, Chicago, University of Southern California, and the Pacific School of Religion, and many other seminaries including Catholic and Jewish institutions have had NCCJ projects or programs. Among those including programs for the first time in 1954 were the Greek Orthodox Seminary at Brookline, Massachusetts, and the Duke University Divinity School, which has invited NCCJ cooperation in offering a special course in human relations.

It was in the early 1930's that Clinchy persuaded a religious educator on Drew Theological Seminary's faculty, Professor James V. Thompson, to take a careful look at Sunday School lessons and their effects on Christian relations with Jews. Clinchy published an article in *The Christian Century* raising questions about the unconscious build-up for anti-Semitism contributed by titles and sentences such as "The Jews Killed Jesus," "The Jews Imprisoned Paul," and "the Jews" stoned apostles, with no thought of the fact that the apostles were Jews, too. Professor Thompson, Dr. Benjamin Winchester of the Federal Council of Churches, Harry Schneiderman and Morris Waldman of the American Jewish Committee, and later Dr. Paul Vieth, religious education expert, set up a study of Protestant educational materials. Vast changes for good took place in the following two decades. In that period the Roman Catholic *Faith and Freedom* readers, along with the Evangelical books, included appreciative lessons about contemporary Jews and Judaism.

As time has gone on the scope of the concern and the methods for dealing with misleading religious studies have broadened. There is a new sensitivity in the whole area of human relations as far as the publications of religious education are concerned, and the survey of the materials of the major denominations which is still being carried on reveals increasing freedom from stereotyping and other obnoxious references to groups other than one's own. Publishers once defensive about criticism now welcome help from the inter-group experts.

More than this the movement has gone far beyond the negative elimination of prejudiced approaches and increasingly materials are prepared which help the church and synagogue teacher to do a positive job in group relations through the religious school. More than thirty thousand packets of teaching and program material for use by religious educators were ordered for Brotherhood Week alone last year. And increasingly the publication of materials is coupled with a leadership training job that means that the religious educator, once thought to be part of the problem, is proving to be one of the strongest resources in its solution.

One of the topics to which the Religious Commission is now devoting some time and attention is the role of churches and synagogues in alleviating crucial tensions brought about by the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. While schools are involved particularly, the Commission views the inevitable problems now arising from desegregation as an important moral concern to which religious leadership everywhere must give its closest attention.

Although there are many notable exceptions, United States churches, which have preached brotherhood for centuries, have been far slower than many other institutions in putting belief to practice. Mrs. Charles Johnson, wife of the President of Fisk University, spoke for many of her race when she said, "I think we got the best out of Christianity, because we had to have it. No matter how we may scoff,

we believe . . . Still, eleven o'clock Sunday morning is the most segregated hour of American life."

Virginia-born Bishop Vincent S. Waters set a courageous example for fellow clergymen in the summer of 1953 by eliminating at one stroke all racial segregation in the Roman Catholic diocese of Raleigh, North Carolina. In a letter which all priests read to church members, Bishop Waters wrote: "Let me state here as emphatically as I can that there is to be no segregation of races to be tolerated. . . . Equal rights are accorded, therefore, to every race . . . and within the church building itself everyone is given the privilege to sit or kneel as he desires . . . I am not unmindful, as a Southerner, of the force of this virus of prejudice among some persons in the South, as well as in the North. I know, however, that there is a cure for this virus, and that is our faith."

One of the strongest condemnations of discriminatory practices by an interchurch group in recent years was issued at the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1954. One report of the Council, representing one hundred sixty-three member-denominations of more than one hundred seventy million Protestant, Anglican and Eastern Orthodox church members throughout the world, said it is the "duty" of the Christian Church to protest racial segregation laws on the ground that racial prejudices are "sins against God and His Commandments."

"As part of the task of challenging the conscience of society," the report said, "it is the duty of the church to protest any law or arrangement that is unjust to any human being or which would make Christian fellowship impossible, or would prevent the Christian from practicing his vocation."

Recently the Methodist Council of Bishops put their church into a positive position of leadership in the fight to abolish school segregation. In a message to nine million church members, the fifty-member Council called for support of the Supreme Court ruling, saying: "One of the foundation stones of our faith is the belief that all men are brothers. . . .

The ultimate success of the ruling will be determined in the hearts of the people of the nation. Thus the church is furnished with an unequalled opportunity to provide leadership. . . ."

Such forthright reaffirmations of the teachings of the Christian faith have been heard more frequently than ever before in recent months. One of NCCJ's greatest challenges and opportunities, however, still lies in the task of encouraging churches to face the great need of improving interreligious and interracial relationships.

As the Reverend Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, observed at the World Council meeting: "It will be a sad commentary on our life and time if future historians can write that the last bulwark of segregation based on race and color in the United States and South Africa was God's church."

BROTHERHOOD AT WORK

"The headlines . . . say that the Supreme Court is ending segregation in the public schools. It is nearer the truth—and even more significant—to say that the pattern of events, particularly during the last two decades, have rendered segregation no longer acceptable to the nation and that, in effect, the court is now confirming the precedents."

1

ROSCOE DRUMMOND

IF SOME MYTHICAL JOURNAL of interracial good will were to exhibit back issues of the past few years, the contrast with the hall full of contemporary hate-bills displayed at nccj's first conference at Columbia University in 1929 would be cheerfully startling. Among the headlines one might find:

FIRST YEAR WITHOUT A LYNCHING:

1952 BREAKS THE U.S. PATTERN

TEXAS TOWN HONORS NEGRO DOCTOR AS OUTSTANDING CITIZEN

ARMED FORCES END SEGREGATION POLICIES

NEGRO COLLEGE ENROLLMENT UP 2,500% OVER 1930

DR. RALPH BUNCHE NAMED TOP-RANKING AMERICAN MEMBER
OF UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

COLORED NURSES ASSOCIATION DISBANDED; NEGROES WELCOMED
TO MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION

PENNSY HIRES FIRST NEGRO AS BRAKEMAN

NEGRO WAGE EARNINGS QUADRUPLED SINCE 1940

U.S. SUPREME COURT UNANIMOUSLY HOLDS THAT RACIAL
SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS VIOLATES CONSTITUTION

This random sampling only hints at the vast social revolution that has brought more progress in interracial relations in America in the last two decades than during the entire previous period since emancipation. The forces which have combined to erode and occasionally tumble a section of the wall of segregation in United States life are many; the leavening influences are closely intertwined and occasionally tangled.

But one thing is certain: the great and growing body of citizens who today reject segregation as un-American and a debasement of the dignity of human personality, unlike Paul on the road to Damascus, did not suddenly draw up short before a blinding light of understanding. The unrelenting fight against discrimination in the courts has been essential and remarkably successful. Yet no law within the democratic framework has ever coerced Americans for long to accept a practice they believed wrong or unworkable—witness what happened under—and to—the Eighteenth Amendment on prohibition.

Arguments by men of good will about whether social progress derives chiefly from action or education, from protests and legal battles or from community participation have led through many a time-wasting detour on America's adventures in brotherhood. In truth, they are correlative forces, one essential to the other. Education leads to action; action is a process of education.

"We cannot legislate morality," Yale President A. Whitney Griswold said recently. Legislation can define and coldly set forth a standard of conduct. But the legal scholar is well aware that law is not brewed from outer-space ingredients in some ivory tower, but is nearly always a crystallization of mores and social practices. Judicial decisions, in Max

Lerner's phrase, are not "babies brought by Constitutional storks."

The Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, holding that racial segregation in the public schools violates the Constitution is a classic example. It directly and intimately affects the lives and values of more American families than any decision the court has made in its one hundred sixty-four-year history. The decision came after years of persistent and patient effort by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in pushing case after well-documented case through the courts.

But even N.A.A.C.P. has long accepted the fact that victories won in the courts are useless unless freely observed by citizens everywhere. As Chief Counsel Thurgood Marshall admonished Association members, a carefully-planned program of court cases alone will not suffice. "It is imperative," he says, "that we also have an active educational campaign . . . among the church groups, the labor groups and the general public."

Almost assuredly, unless the Supreme Court justices had felt that there were enough people of good will to insure acceptance of its tradition-breaking ruling on segregation, the momentous decision would never have been made at this time. "The unanimity of the court, three of whose justices are from the South, reflects the basic readiness of the American people to take this step ahead," the *New York Herald-Tribune's* Roscoe Drummond wrote. "Segregation of the Negro in the United States has been waning at a rapid pace. Court decisions have contributed to this acceleration, but equally the changing sentiment of the country has contributed to the court decisions."

That theme has been noted by many others. The decision, said the *New York Times*, has been rendered "in a climate of growing tolerance that is one of the most heartening signs of our times. The climate suggests that . . . democracy has nothing to fear from more democracy." Said *Time*: "The

Negro problem is basically not economic, or social, or psychological. It is moral . . . and the most hopeful fact about the Negro's progress in the last decade is that it could not have been possible without some moral progress by white Americans."

In *The Negro and the Schools*, a report on what happened in twenty-five communities after integration at the school level, the findings of forty-five scholars also indicate that laws alone will not solve the problem of segregation involving some twelve million school children in twenty-one states—any more than they will solve the economic problems of the South. The report also points to the conclusion that the end of segregation will not lead to the bloody riots and violence its traditional supporters predict—and, some at least, have tried to make a reality. Many Southern politicians and educators are willing to concede, at least privately, that integration "is coming—not overnight and not necessarily as a direct result of the present school litigation, but as a result of the larger trends of which it is a symptom."

The importance of authoritarian pronouncements in alleviating the problem is described by Psychologist Gordon Allport: "People really know that segregation is un-American, even the masses in the South know it. They also have prejudices. This mental conflict is acute . . . But let the backbone come from the Supreme Court, and it will strengthen the backbone of those who now live in conflict . . . People do accept legislation that fortifies their inner consciences . . . The important thing is to give this external support to the forces that are already working for fairness to Americans of all colors and national origins."

Former Ambassador to India Chester Bowles, who is keenly aware of how toleration of second-class citizenship has damaged United States prestige abroad, recognizes the urgent need of related effort on the community level. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* on *The Negro—Progress and Challenge*, he said, "Laws and governmental action,

important as they may be, by no means get to the root of the problem in neighbor and city-wide tensions and attitudes. There should never have been a debate over legal compulsion vs. education, or Federal vs. local action. Whatever one may think about Federal laws, local action is indispensable and education is vitally important . . .

"I believe that the greatest opportunity for constructive action lies right in our own neighborhoods in our day-to-day relations with our fellow citizens. If our growing concern about discrimination can be channelled into community programs on a national scale, spectacular progress can be achieved in the coming years."

NCCJ's approach to the problem of racial prejudice, like that to all prejudice and bigotry, is an educational one. The Conference has built slowly but solidly in communities, concentrating on gaining the respect and confidence of local leaders in a position to know and help eliminate the rubs across the backyard fences of fellow citizens. Inevitably, this technique has made it necessary at certain points for NCCJ to work within a framework of segregation in accomplishing its mission.

But not to have done so, says L. D. Haskew, Dean of the College of Education at the University of Texas, "would have denied the Conference the opportunity to work in places where its help and service were most needed. And in every community where NCCJ began its work within a segregated pattern, the record of progress in breaking down barriers of segregation and discrimination can be fully documented."

NCCJ's methods suggest that the trophy of brotherhood is more likely to be won with the steady pace of the mile-run than in a one-hundred-yard high-hurdles dash. The would-be champion of human rights who rushes forth and trips over every second hurdle may eventually break the tape, but he's sure to lose the confidence and support of many admirers and helpers en route.

But NCCJ recognizes that there are challenges enough to occupy all front-runners in the race for brotherhood, that the ultimate solution to the problem of racial prejudice will probably come through a combination of laws and education. For this reason, it has always recognized the role of social action groups.

Because NCCJ is not a militant, politically-identified organization, it has often been criticized by some who are impatient for reform in the field of human relations. But a combative attitude toward social problems would undoubtedly destroy its objectivity and character as an educational organization, and sacrifice much of the nationwide influence it quietly and persistently obtained over the years.

Like a university, NCCJ feels it can make its most effective contribution through educational channels. And like an educational institution, it feels that social action through political pressure, lobbying and legislation is best left to special groups organized for these purposes. Unlike the rooster in Rostand's *Chanticleer*, who came to believe he brought the dawn because the rising sun coincided with his crowing, NCCJ does not claim to have brought the new day in human relations single-handedly. But by hewing to its long-range program directed through the trunk line organizations of human endeavor, it has been a great and far-reaching force in shaping a public opinion favorable to civil rights action, fair employment legislation and the ending of segregation in the armed forces and the public schools.

One of the most significant aspects of the early court cases and the final Supreme Court decision on segregation was the unique role played by social scientists. Central to the case, developed by social psychologists in extensive collaboration with the legal profession, was the establishment of conclusive evidence that segregation itself is inequality and inflicts serious and often life-long personality injuries upon the Negro.

The testimony of the social scientists was clearly reflected

in the court's finding. For example: "To separate [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone . . ."

From systematic studies of the race problem in schools, housing, employment, unions and the armed forces, social scientists have concluded that friendly situations almost invariably develop where white and Negro are associated on an equal basis. That this conclusion is sound has been demonstrated again and again in the experience of NCCJ in applying for twenty-seven years the knowledge of the behavior sciences, the technics of education and the dynamism of religion to bring about changes for good in human relations.

NCCJ's Commissions have been very explicit in urging and promoting interracial as well as intercultural and interreligious amity. One recent statement of the Religious Commission on this point asserted: "We once again reaffirm our common moral concern for racial injustice . . . Wherever human dignity is outraged, it becomes imperative for Catholics, Protestants and Jews to raise their united voices in protest and to join with new resolution in educational tasks that will help to eradicate the prejudice and fear out of which racial injustice is born."

That NCCJ's program is effectively strengthening the sound human relations aspects of social action programs as well as making inimitable contributions of its own to the cause of brotherhood is amply demonstrated by the record. Some of the highlights:

WASHINGTON, D. C.: NCCJ was the first organization to bring Negro and white teachers together on a non-segregated basis at an educational conference. It has conducted intergroup relations projects for the District Recreation Department and provides consultant help to the Board of Education in bringing about integration in the schools with a minimum of

conflict. Ever since it started its annual seminar in Washington twenty years ago, NCCJ has insisted that all its constituents be received together, seated together and treated equally. At its annual national meeting in the city each November, Negroes take important roles on panels, share sessions and often make major addresses.

BALTIMORE: NCCJ took the lead in establishing non-segregated patterns in the community by inviting both Negroes and whites to the annual Brotherhood banquet in 1953, marking the first time Negroes and whites publicly dined together as a group. Another first: an NCCJ Negro-white high school rally attended by twenty-five hundred students.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE: A decision which opened a number of Delaware schools to Negroes for the first time was written by Chancellor Collins J. Seitz, Catholic co-chairman of NCCJ's Delaware board. NCCJ provided in-service training courses to teachers to aid in the peaceful ending of segregation. As a result of negotiations with NCCJ staffers, the city's leading hotel quietly and without fanfare became the first to open its doors to Negroes and whites alike.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA: All NCCJ Youth Institutes in Virginia are held on an integrated basis.

OKLAHOMA: At NCCJ's Third Annual Institutes on Human Relations in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, both audience and speakers participated on a non-segregated basis. Both programs were devoted to discussions of the racial problem. As a result of Jackie Robinson's tour under NCCJ auspices, the Lions Club of Tulsa opened its doors to Negroes and whites for the first interracial meeting ever sponsored by a service club in that area.

NORTH CAROLINA: The first interracial high school youth institute was sponsored by NCCJ in Asheville in May, 1953. The first interracial adult leaders' training course in human relations was sponsored by NCCJ in the fall of 1952.

LOUISVILLE: An annual NCCJ-sponsored six-weeks seminar in intergroup relations at the University of Kentucky, attract-

ing Negro and white teachers and civic workers from eight states, was the first such integrated program in the South. The Brown Hotel opened its doors to all people, regardless of race or color, for the first time for NCCJ's Twenty-fifth Anniversary dinner in 1953. NCCJ's Kentucky director, John Kenna, is also active personally in efforts made by other civic groups to secure first-class citizenship for all. He was one of two whites cited by the Louisville *Defender*, a Negro publication, for work on behalf of all citizens in 1952.

CLEVELAND: Through NCCJ's efforts, private camps in the area were opened to Negro youth.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE: Despite segregation barriers, many programs and meetings sponsored by the Knoxville Round-Table are interracial.

CHICAGO: In 1951 NCCJ was cited by the Negro newspaper, The Chicago *Defender*, "for distinguished work in promoting brotherhood and denouncing intolerance." The National Newspaper Publishers Association named NCCJ winner of the 1952 John B. Russwurm (first Negro Publisher) Award "in recognition of outstanding achievements in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and for upholding the highest American traditions."

ST. LOUIS: Bi-monthly workshops of Negro and white students from twenty private, parochial, city and country schools, an NCCJ project to deal with intergroup problems, were the first of this kind eight years ago. A Negro-white concert at the Vashen Southwest High School marked the first time that a public school mixed choir sang together in the city; as part of the 1954 Brotherhood Week observance, Negro boys and girls were invited to join the All City High School Symphony Orchestra for the first time. The NCCJ-developed Human Relations Workshop at Washington University was interracial even before the University became integrated. With NCCJ assistance, Harris Teachers College and Stowe Teachers College (one Negro, one white) have carried on integrated programs for six years. Working with

other community organizations, NCCJ has also made a major contribution to the drive that opened hotels, legitimate theaters, parks, playgrounds, swimming pools and some of the movie theaters in St. Louis on an integrated basis.

PORTLAND: The Urban League honored NCCJ's Portland chapter for "significant contributions to the improvement of race relations."

SAN FRANCISCO: For the sixth consecutive year, NCCJ's local office has cooperated with San Francisco State College in a six weeks' workshop in human relations attended by Negroes, Latin Americans, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos.

FLORIDA: NCCJ was a leading force in organizing the Dade County Intergroup Education Committee, a completely integrated body with monthly meetings attended by delegates from Negro and white schools. At the time of its organization, it was the only interracial group working in the field of human relations within the Dade County school system. In 1951 NCCJ's Miami office was the first community organization to present a program in a Dade County high school auditorium before a non-segregated audience. When Miami hotels would not open facilities for an interracial dinner, NCCJ held the city's first in 1951 at the University of Miami.

NCCJ cooperated with the American College Public Relations Association and the University of Florida in securing completely integrated housing and convention facilities at Miami's Blackstone Hotel in 1951—the first completely integrated national meeting to be held in that area. The Miami Chapter took the lead in changing a long-accepted segregated practice when in 1951 a new one million dollar library opened its doors to all citizens. This occurred the same year that a rash of bombings or attempted bombings of homes of Negro citizens and houses of worship of Catholic and Jewish citizens took place.

NCCJ's Florida regional office, ably directed by Dr. Jacob Cunningham, "has consistently included all ethnic groups in its organizational set-up and program," William Grogan,

president of the Florida State Industrial Union Council, CIO, confirms this: "For example, the Regional Board and Program Committee include both white and Negro members . . ."

Immediately after World War II there was a serious and determined effort to revive the Ku Klux Klan in Florida, as well as in other southern areas. NCCJ spearheaded the attack against the KKK by enlisting support from the state newspaper association, state radio systems, educational and religious leaders and organizations including B'nai B'rith, and councils of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic women. By educational work through all possible channels, the group succeeded in bringing about a widespread and angry revulsion against the Klan and its sorry principles.

When the State legislature declined to act, continued co-operative efforts of these organizations secured the passage of ordinances in Miami, Coral Gables, Miami Beach, Tallahassee and many other cities, forbidding any masked group from meeting on any public property or burning symbols on any property without the owners' consent.

Similar work by men and women of good will has almost completely torn away the last sheet-shreds of respectability from such organizations as the KKK. The Klan today is a far cry from the four million member "invisible empire" of the nineteen twenties which preached white Protestant American supremacy and gave practical application to its doctrines of hate with tar and feathers, noose and lash, bribery and intimidation. It now consists, the *New South* said recently, "of a few third-rate satrapies ruled by power-hungry little men who spend much of their time quarreling among themselves." Even ex-Imperial Wizard Thomas L. Hamilton, imprisoned for plotting a reign of night-riding terror in Columbus County, North Carolina, renounced the Klan and urged that it be disbanded. The Florida KKK, in a dying gasp, discarded its sheets and opened ranks to "all races, creeds and colors"—on a segregated basis, of course.

Terrorist splinter groups have not been wiped out by any

means. But the words of a Robeson County solicitor to a group of arrested Klansmen sums up the hard times ahead for bigotry's "bad boys": "You understand physical force, but there is another force which we wish to impress upon you. The same law which has protected you all your lives is not your individual or collective possession. It belongs to the rich and the poor, to the Negro, to the white, to the Indian, to the native born, to the foreign born, to the Protestant, to the Catholic and to the Jew. It is going to stay that way."

One specific area of discrimination and conflict to which NCCJ has applied its tested techniques extends right down to the work-bench and assembly line. Historically, the problem began to take form in 1923 when restrictive laws ended America's era of mass immigration and industry's expanding labor force came to be increasingly drawn from the rural areas, principally the South. The demands of World War II greatly accelerated the movement. Many of the workers seeking higher wages and greater opportunities were Negroes. During the nineteen forties, for example, Chicago's Negro population increased by sixty-nine per cent. A million Negroes went into defense industries during the war; today nearly eleven per cent of all United States industrial workers are Negroes—twice as many as in 1940. Inevitably, as Negroes gained new skills and seniority and began to compete for skilled jobs with whites, tensions mounted.

In 1942, NCCJ initiated a program designed to aid the great labor unions in fostering a spirit of brotherhood among all members. A number of projects and experiments in communication were undertaken during the war. Over the years, labor leaders like the CIO's Phillip Murray and David McDonald and AFL's William Green and George Meany have welcomed NCCJ work and pledged the support of their organizations in combating intolerance and bigotry.

In Phillip Murray's opinion, "Teamwork' may be taken as the key word to the future of the world. Without it," he said, "there can be no future. The release of atomic energy makes

teamwork necessary among the nations of the world. Within our own great country, the need for a feeling of brotherhood among its racial and religious groups is particularly crucial. That is why the CIO recognizes the importance of such work as is being carried forward by the National Conference."

During World War II, management leaders, faced with fantastic production goals and often stymied by manpower shortages and frictions between workers, also began to work more concertedly toward the "Teamwork in Industry" goals which NCCJ sought. Aside from the vital moral issue and the wanton waste of human resources, the cost of discrimination annually against Negroes alone has been estimated as four billion dollars, with the total cost each year ranging between fifteen billion and thirty billion dollars.

One wartime case history which was to play an important role in the post-war development of a nationwide NCCJ program to better human relations in industry occurred at the St. Louis plant of the General Cable Corporation. The plant, engaged in manufacturing communications wire for the armed forces, was in desperate need of more workers.

"Thousands of Negroes in that district were eager to pitch in and help fabricate the sorely needed wire," Dwight R. G. Palmer, then president of the corporation, recalls. "But whites from the Ozark Mountains, mostly women already at work in the plant, refused to accept Negroes as benchmates. Our plant manager was howled down as an s.o.b. and faced with a strike. A lot of well meaning brass and other officials urged me not to force the issue—to 'go slow' in order to avoid trouble.

"But I chose to disregard their warnings of caution. I flew to St. Louis. By-passing other assembled and anxious advisors, I gathered together our white women and men workers and talked to them from the heart. I told them that if we had more black faces on our production front we would have fewer white crosses on the fighting fronts. I tried to make them see that their prejudices merely expressed their

own inferiority feelings and recalled to them the glorious traditions of our nation of immigrants. I said to them in effect, 'Go back to your machines and show these nice Negro girls how human you really are, and how kind you can afford to be.'

"They responded to this elementary straight-from-the-shoulder appeal to their consciences as Americans and as human beings. They needed to be talked to directly by someone who believed—earnestly and honestly believed—that we are all children of God. It was not enough to order them what to do: their individual integrity demanded that they be told why the orders made sense. It worked. Within the hour there were black faces among the white at the workbenches. Those women not only learned to understand each other but to like each other—and the new relationship lasted."

In essence, this approach to industry's problems of discrimination came to be the core of the philosophy of NCCJ's Commission on Labor-Management Organizations when it was established in 1949. And Dwight Palmer, who served on the Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, and learned years earlier, as one of fifty white men among four hundred Negroes in a Louisiana lumber camp, that all men can work together, was a chief source of inspiration for it and its first chairman.

Prior to the official formation of the Commission, NCCJ inaugurated a series of human relations clinics to analyze and improve intergroup relations among personnel in nine New York department stores. One notable result was the initiative taken by Lord & Taylor, which hired the first Negro salesgirl on Fifth Avenue; nowadays the big store along the avenue without Negro employees is the exception.

At a meeting of the NCCJ board in November, 1948, Co-Chairman Roger W. Straus introduced the resolution to bring brotherhood into the industrial field. The proposal, outgrowth of a two-year period of investigation and study, led

first to the formation of a special committee of labor and industrial leaders.

One of America's top industrialists who has given unstintingly of time and money to further NCCJ's aims is Henry Ford II, head of the vast Ford Motors operation. Sitting in his office with Clinchy one day soon after the war, Ford described the four elements in the production of goods as access to raw materials, the selection of manpower, mechanical technology and the moral or spiritual factor.

"We can hire experts to solve the first three," Ford said. "But the moral or spiritual factor is the toughest of all." Quite amazed, Clinchy asked: "What are the moral and spiritual problems in making automobiles?"

"The problem of human relationships," Ford replied. "If we could get workers on the assembly line, in the front offices, in all departments, who are skilled in the art of teamwork among Protestants, Catholics and Jews of all races and nationalities, we could pay better wages, make better profits and sell cars to the public at lower prices. The variable is the moral element of good human relations."

Ford earnestly believes in and works for the achievement of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. His support of NCCJ, he has said on many occasions, helps in that cause and meets a real need at Ford Motors as well.

The first preliminary NCCJ conference to discuss ways and means of launching an intergroup relations program for industry was held late in 1948 and attended by representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL, American Telephone and Telegraph, CIO, Curtiss Wright, Ford, General Cable, General Electric, International Ladies Garment Workers, Johnson & Johnson, the National Urban League, New York University, Teachers College (Columbia), and Western Electric.

Without exception the representatives agreed that such a program was vitally needed and that NCCJ was the appropriate organization to sponsor it. Speaking for industry,

Dwight Palmer, host for the meeting, said, "I believe that the time is opportune and the Conference can provide us with . . . an overall program that can fit in admirably and effectively to do a job that management has failed to do."

In Palmer's view, "Any program of education in decent human relations that is relevant for schools and churches, I submit, is equally relevant for industry. In every plant and office, the artificial barriers between races and creeds must be broken down, not by force but by persuasion—especially the persuasion of example.

"There can be no real teamwork where the productive process is clogged by prejudice, suspicion and hatred among the personnel. There can be no free flow of the most able people and the best skills where the roads of opportunity are closed off against any group by reason of color or creed or birth . . . The business organization which adheres to a backward human policy is as outclassed as one which would operate its business with obsolete machinery and outmoded manufacturing methods . . . The fact is that industry no longer lives in an airtight compartment sealed off from the pressures and problems and emotions of life outside. It must contend with these pressures and face up to the challenge of these problems."

The first move of the new Labor-Management Commission was to test its ideas in a "pilot plant" in tolerance. With the agreement of the three AFL unions acting for employees, General Cable Company's Perth Amboy, New Jersey plant was chosen. The plant's thirteen hundred workers included men and women of almost every race, creed and national origin. A group of some thirty key people, representative of every department, every religious, racial or national origin in the plant, was asked to participate. They were not, however, "typical," but leaders—shop stewards, union officials and management people—who could set the tone for the entire plant and thus help alleviate tensions and prejudices in the community.

Every afternoon for nine weeks the group met in informal, free-for-all discussion sessions over coffee, soft drinks and cake. At each 1½-hour seminar a "resource speaker" was on hand to get things started, and a skilled discussion leader to see that it got somewhere. The training team included a well-known anthropologist, psychologist, educator, intergroup relations specialist, and Protestant, Jewish and Catholic clergymen.

The first session considered religious differences and the general nature of the problem of prejudice, particularly as it affects an industrial plant. Leaders at other seminars helped dissect fallacies about race, probed into the bias of individual participants, appraised the community life and standards and analyzed and guided the group in making definite plans for knocking down barriers to brotherhood in both plant and community.

At the close of the test seminars, one result soon evident was that the subjects discussed reached a much wider audience, including most plant employees and many members of the community. Numerous requests came from workers asking to sit in on future sessions. Management also noted in time a new spirit of cooperation: tensions seemed to ease up, production records took on a new, personalized interest, scrap figures improved and grievances did not come up so often.

As a result of the success with this experimental project, measured by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, NCCJ felt confident in extending the in-plant program for combating discrimination in employment and in the upgrading of workers to industries and plants in other parts of the country.

Since the establishment of the Commission in 1949, twenty-seven "Teamwork in Industry" projects have been conducted in twelve industrial plants. Among them: American Smelting & Refining Company; General Electric X-Ray Corporation; Kenwood Mills; Revere Copper & Brass, In-

corporated; Seamless Rubber Company; United States Metals Company; Bristol-Myers Company; and the United States Army Quartermaster Depot in Philadelphia.

As the in-plant programs expanded, more effective methods for planning, executing and evaluating them were developed, including "tailor-made" seminars aimed at fulfilling needs and stimulating desired changes in policy and practices both inside and outside an industrial plant.

On the basis of continuous evaluation efforts, the Commission later revamped the program and widened its target area. In addition to projects at first confined chiefly to heavy industries, programs now are designed and conducted for small industries and businesses, police and fire departments and public housing authorities in cities from coast to coast.

In addition to in-plant projects, the Labor-Management Commission, directed by Dave Hyatt, supplies program materials and speakers for staff and union meetings, makes fact-finding surveys and counsels regarding intergroup relations policies and practices, plant morale and integration of minority workers into company working forces.

Beginning with the first seminars at General Cable, extensive use has been made of special films, film strips, recordings and literature at in-plant sessions. *Chuck Hansen—One Guy*, a documentary film produced for NCCJ to aid in the fight against discrimination in industry, centers around the life and prejudices of one man involved in an in-plant program. The actors are workers in a Bayonne, New Jersey, plant and the story is told in real-life dimensions. The film, which in addition to regular showings has been telecast some fifty times, won a top Freedoms Foundation Award in 1954.

One of the basic guides for the use of both labor and management groups is *A Handbook on Human Relations*, a primer of facts on racial and religious differences and the causes, costs and cure of prejudice. Written by Everett R. Clinchy in 1949, the handbook outlines areas of misunder-

standing and provides discussion outlines for combating prejudice through education and action.

The Commission recently published a series of pamphlets on human relations in industry which has been widely distributed among business and labor leaders. These popular research studies are *Negroes in the Work Force* by Dr. Jacob Seidenberg, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, *The High Cost of Discrimination* by veteran opinion-analyst Elmo Roper, and *A Fair Chance for All Americans* with articles by Frank Folsom, President of RCA, M. J. Spiegel, Chairman of Spiegel's, Ivan Willis, Vice-President of International Harvester, and C. V. Martin, Vice-President of Carson, Pirie, Scott. All three of these research studies should have considerable effect in persuading businessmen and industrialists to cast aside costly and unprofitable discriminatory policies of hiring and promotion. The case studies all show that merit alone is the only humane and economic basis for employment and upgrading.

The Commission also puts out a monthly informational bulletin surveying human relations progress and problems in industry as a public service to business and labor leaders and editors.

One of the favorite stories that is likely to crop up at some point during an in-plant seminar concerns the iron workers local which was made up of eighty Irishmen and twenty Swedes. Two slates of candidates, of course, were entered for the hotly-contested election of officials: O'Brien and Murphy, Svenson and Gustafson. Tempers ran high and arguments loud before the polling, despite an unexpected plea from O'Brien on the need for unity.

The Irish slate was swept in by the not-surprising vote of eighty to twenty. Nevertheless, as O'Brien and his friend Murphy trudged homeward after the meeting, the new head of the local was strangely silent. "And why are you so morbid as if your mither had passed on?" inquired Murphy. "You should be proud of the great honor that has been bestowed

upon you." O'Brien thought for a moment, then slowly replied: "Sure and I am proud. But something has been worrying me all evening. Did you notice how them damn Swedes stuck together?"

Like O'Brien, many American workers suspect and mistrust the minority groups among them. But once the foundation of preformed misconceptions are weakened, the structure of intolerance built on them weakens. An appreciation of the problems and hardships to which minority groups are subjected is the first step in the right direction, and NCCJ's "Teamwork in Industry" seminars provide that first step.

In one Eastern industrial plant, an ambitious young man with an unfortunate attitude toward Negro employees had been elected the shop's union representative several times. As one of the participants in an in-plant seminar he casually aired his views when the question arose of whether racial discrimination barred Negroes from responsible jobs in the plant.

The moderator made an effort to demonstrate the fallacy of his position. Adding to the tenseness of the moment was the fact that the Negro member of the panel was a woman with a family, in good standing in her church and community and holding the affection of most of her fellow workers. The result was that other members of the group quickly jumped on the misguided shop steward. He was visibly upset, but held his position. He was not reelected shop steward.

Later it was observed that the young man was making a very serious effort to make friends with Negroes in the plant. When questioned, he said he was anxious to get ahead in the union and was determined that the opinions he had held about Negroes were not going to prevent that. The shop steward was not converted to a brotherly human being overnight, but a realistic appraisal of his own selfish motivations had at least set him off in the right direction.

Discussing the seminars held in Bristol-Myers' Rubberset Division plant, Lee Bristol said: "You don't change the habits

of a lifetime in ten weeks. But many workers for the first time became convinced that discrimination is not the right way for an American to act. For the first time, they found a way to handle this terrible emotion they had discovered within themselves."

Not long after the Rubberset program, three Negroes in the plant moved up to important jobs and two Italians were upgraded to the second echelon. And, although only twenty per cent of the labor force were Negroes, a Negro shortly was elected president of the Employees' Association.

NCCJ is well aware that harmonious human relations in play or work are not handed out on a silver platter of conversational hors d'oeuvres. As Dwight Palmer sums up: "The problems of tolerance cannot be solved in the abstract. We must grapple with these problems practically, concretely, on the plane of everyday living—and that means also in the marts of trade.

"The only way we can secure and maintain respect for our own beliefs is to respect and understand the beliefs of others. One of the key opportunities for putting that simple principle into practice is the place where men and women earn their livelihoods. In the final analysis, no laws to enforce tolerance will work unless they mirror the basic intent in our innermost selves."

WORLD BROTHERHOOD

"In a life or a nation, it is not the outcome of any struggle that is decisive, but the direction taken by the spirit. And the spirit of man . . . tends, like other growing things, upward toward the light."

1

DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE

TWO WEEKS AFTER ALLIED FORCES hit the beaches at Normandy with all the force that could be mustered, Protestant Co-Chairman Arthur H. Compton came before the NCCJ board at a meeting in New York with a global challenge. "Because we see the first rays of hope of the end of the war," he said, "the present time is an appropriate one for the National Conference to take stock . . . In the postwar world, our contacts must be world contacts. The principles of the National Conference must be projected on a world scale."

The philosophy of universal-relatedness underlying Dr. Compton's declaration was not new to NCCJ thinking. One of the key points of the first program outline, drawn up in 1928, noted that "the world is too small" for historical and religious differences to mar human relationships and aimed "to unite advocates of goodwill in this country with those in European countries in an international effort to increase understanding." Again and again, through the years, NCCJ leaders decried and protested the evil plague of anti-Semitism that swept across the continent from Germany and which no ocean could keep from spreading to the shores of America.

One compelling reason for a European organization devoted to the principles of brotherhood was suggested as early as

1937, the year Hitler repudiated the Versailles Treaty and Italy withdrew from the League of Nations. Addressing NCCJ's Executive Committee, Dr. Ernst W. Meyer, who had previously served as First Secretary at the German Embassy in Washington and is now German Ambassador to India, declared: "If, in Germany, there had been an organization like that of the National Conference, the tragic days that have befallen the people, insofar as the loss of human liberty and dignity are concerned, would have been avoided."

Raymond H. Geist, of the United States State Department, expressed the same views at an NCCJ meeting in 1942: "What powerful blows might have been leveled at the demagogue if the German people during the previous generation had been able to find some common basis of understanding in their religious life and had been able to allay the prejudices which kept them from establishing a basis of united public action! Had there been effective cooperation in the pursuit of common aims among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in pre-Hitlerian Germany, it is doubtful that the National Socialists could ever have come to power." Or, as George Shuster put it, "the genius of Adolf Hitler would have expended itself on interior decorating."

Nobel Prize Physicist Compton's dream of world brotherhood, he believes, can be brought out of the sky and into the realm of every-day life if the globe were rimmed with dedicated people who could bring about a kind of human chain reaction.

"Contemplate what it would mean to men and to nations if the brotherhood of man, defined as a willingness to give to all others the rights and dignities that we want for ourselves, were established throughout the world," he suggests. "That is at once the modest and basic definition of brotherhood.

"The chain reaction on which atomic energy depends involves the establishment of certain positive conditions and the elimination of negative 'poisons.' An organization for world brotherhood has the same opportunity to create the

climate, to clear obstructions, and to set going from person to person, chain fashion, this most powerful force in the world—the spirit of brotherhood. This is the spirit of dynamic peace among individuals within a single nation and among nations.”

A century ago, Compton estimates, there were fewer than a dozen scientists who were giving their whole attention to studying the physical world. Today, there are a quarter of a million research scientists and engineers employed by universities, industry and government. Their efforts have split the atom, produced the “wonder” drugs and the thousand and one other miracles of this technological age.

Suppose, Compton says, that a quarter of a million scientists could be enlisted to study man and social behavior, a quarter of a million educators who would be the technicians to translate information into the experience of child and adult alike—plus the same number of philosophers and moral teachers who would provide the resolve and commitment for the task. Then mankind might match the ceaseless wonders of science with the powerful wonder drug of decent human relations.

When the first shiploads of food and raw materials were rushed from the United States to save lives and alleviate misery in Europe, NCCJ leaders also crossed the Atlantic Ocean. They carried no prefabricated plan. They offered only help, but they were firmly convinced that after years of common suffering and fighting, Europeans and Americans had a common stake in the future of their democracies.

Europeans in the war-stricken and formerly occupied countries had suffered beyond imagination. Immediate material help from America was of primary importance. But it was urgent, even in this early stage, to strengthen the morale of the European people. The guiding principle in granting relief was “to help Europeans help themselves.” More than ever in their history Europeans needed encouragement, faith

in their destiny and new reasons for believing that the future would not be a mere repetition of the past.

Leaders among those who had survived the war began some serious soul-searching. Why had democracy failed to prevent the rise of totalitarian systems? Both Germany and Italy had had liberal, democratic constitutions. Their citizens could have reacted to prevent developments of which they claimed later they had been the victims. Was the future, looked at in 1945, going to be more reassuring? The political power of Nazism and Fascism was broken. But stronger than ever Communism emerged from World War II as an equally serious threat to all the principles and values the Western Allies had fought for.

Europeans had failed to overcome totalitarianism except with military help from outside. Would they be capable of rejecting Communism with any other means than a final military showdown? Would any concrete action result from the recognition that passive disapproval is no adequate answer to organized hatred?

In a number of European countries, democratic institutions had undergone a process of disintegration. In large segments of the population, religious convictions had faded away, leaving the field to rational humanism or, in many cases, to materialistic nihilism. Material well-being, a high degree of culture, based on shaky religious and moral standards—such were the conditions under which the Roman Empire collapsed.

Under similar conditions, the nations of Europe had been overthrown by Nazism and Fascism. To resist the poison of a new totalitarianism they needed, of course, to be made aware of what they were up against. But most important of all was the need for a sense of what they were going to live for. A new formula of active democracy was needed to attack the moral crisis of Europe at its core.

The National Conference then had some eighteen years' experience in education and community organization. It had

developed successful techniques in gaining the moral and financial support necessary for carrying out effective programs in intergroup relations. It had succeeded in building bridges between the churches and the major institutions of learning and research. Without reliance on government or political agencies, it had covered the country with community groups engaged in action for brotherhood.

The European leaders who were told the story of this experience listened with interest and concern. The basic idea and strategy of NCCJ seemed indeed to respond to one of the crucial needs of postwar Europe, to offer a new, much-needed source of strength. Though anxious to sponsor such a program, Europeans cautioned that both structure and techniques of the United States organization would have to be carefully adapted to specific European needs and opportunities. Moral forces to be called upon were not the same on the two continents; intergroup problems were different in nature.

The goal was a pan-European voluntary agency. But there was no precedent to draw on. There were not even national community organizations to serve as models. The whole concept of a systematic, year-round, voluntary action program for the well-being of the community was new. Such American terms as "intergroup relations" and "community organization," in fact had no counterparts in the European languages.

As one European educator said later, "In America the job of NCCJ had been to direct community activities toward better human relations. In Europe, the first task was to dig underground and to create a community conscience."

A long and rugged schedule of exploratory consultations appeared necessary before any organization with a constitution and program acceptable to all Europeans could be adopted. The first of these, a postwar world conference of organizations and leaders interested in the attainment of

NCCJ objectives, had been recommended at the 1944 NCCJ meeting at which Dr. Compton spoke.

The convening of the Conference in Oxford, England in the summer of 1946 greatly extended the range of NCCJ activities. Altogether, the Conference comprised one hundred-fifty members drawn from the Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish communities in fifteen countries. Henry Noble MacCracken was chairman of the American delegation.

The Conference opened with a great public meeting on July 29 in London. The Friends House, seating two thousand, was filled to overflowing long before the hour of the session, presided over by the Most Reverend Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury. The theme of the Conference was "Freedom, Justice and Responsibility," and its purpose was to "Reaffirm the Essential Rights and Obligations of Man." Among the speakers at the opening meeting were the Marquess of Reading; R. A. Butler, MP; Basil O'Connor; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr; and Rabbi Leo Baeck, former chief rabbi in Berlin and victim of Nazi concentration camps.

The following day the Conference began its meetings in Oxford's Margaret Hall and continued in session for seven days.

Conference participants were able to isolate in every country the germs of the sickness of society that caused World War II. And when Catholics and Protestants compared notes on their experiences in various world areas after the war, Catholics listed specifically the places where members of their faith were persecuted or denied rights: Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Northern Ireland. Protestants pointed out certain Latin American countries, Spain and some regions in eastern Europe. Jews had faced a wall of anti-Semitism everywhere they had tried to live.

It was this sense of common "fear of attack from totalitarianism in its various forms" that led the Catholics, Jews

and Protestants, at this International Conference to agree to "withstand unswervingly attacks on any other group."

One of the most moving moments came during the testimony of a Christian clergyman from Germany. He wept as he told the story of Pastor Schneider, a Protestant minister who had refused to preach hate, and insisted that man's duty to God preceded his obligations to the Nazi Party. He continued to treat his Jewish neighbors as human beings, and was put in a concentration camp. There he continued to help Jewish prisoners in every way he could. Because he read the Psalms to dying Jews, he was whipped day after day, until he died.

Before it closed, the assembly drafted a petition to the Paris Peace Conference, then in session. Later delivered to then-Secretary of State James Byrnes, it urged the statesmen to give effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations ("respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion") in writing the peace treaties.

To diagnose a problem requiring immediate attention, nccj called an International Emergency Conference to Combat Anti-Semitism for the following year. The urgent need for free peoples in both hemispheres to take prompt and effective action with regard to European anti-Semitism was painfully obvious. Six million members of the Jewish faith annihilated in a decade had made anti-Semitism the greatest sin perpetrated against any single religious group in history. In the Twentieth Century, anti-Semitism had become the first weapon of attack upon democracy; and in an age of fast communication and transportation, European anti-Semitism would quickly be felt in every country where Jews live.

The conference was convened in Seelisberg, Switzerland, in August, 1947, with representatives from eighteen nations. As at Oxford, the Conference divided into a number of working commissions to explore various aspects of anti-Semitism and present specific measures for counteracting anti-Semit-

ism on the continent. Along with suggestions for immediate action to deal with problems of Jewish displaced persons and the difficulties caused by restitution plans, which were being made the excuse for the promotion of anti-Semitism, the Conference formulated long-range plans for the broadest use of educational techniques.

"As long as the world which claims to belong to Christian civilization has not overcome anti-Semitism," said French Ambassador to the Vatican Jacques Maritain in his message to the Conference, "it carries a sin which will be a serious obstacle on its way to recovery." A special Commission of Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders worked out principles for Christian religious teachers—known as "The Ten Points of Seelisberg"—which, after submission to the Christian religious authorities, were widely circulated to Christian churches and religious educators. They indicate ways in which children should be taught about the Jews without causing anti-Semitic feelings in their minds and hearts.

Meanwhile, NCCJ had begun a flanking action against the international forces of bigotry. One of the basic structures which the 1941 Williamstown Institute had blueprinted for "The World We Want to Live In" was a league of nations with teeth, "equipped with an international police force empowered to prevent aggression and capable of doing so successfully."

NCCJ believed, too, as New York Rabbi David B. Kahane expressed it, that "a common purpose" existed between religion and the UN. The UN Charter, said Rabbi Kahane, utilizing such expressions as "the dignity and worth of persons," and "encouraging respect for human rights," cannot be understood "except as an expression of those age-old principles springing from Biblical traditions. It therefore becomes the personal responsibility of members of all creeds to strengthen the effectiveness of this organization which strives to make a living reality of the universal ideals commonly shared by all major faiths."

It was logical, therefore, that NCCJ should lend strong support to the United Nations when it came into being.

Within the UN framework an opportunity existed for direct private organization participation in inter-governmental organization. To take advantage of the opportunity, NCCJ established a Human Rights Committee in 1946. Its purpose: "to serve as a focus for representative private leadership opinion in support of the UN, to integrate existing NCCJ activity to UN questions and to help bring a moral dynamic to the deliberations of statesmen."

The leadership of NCCJ's Human Rights Committee—James N. Rosenberg, George N. Shuster, Henry Noble MacCracken and Willard Johnson—mobilized many organizations to back UN development of principles of human rights, and was largely responsible for the educational work in support of Raphael Lemkin's persistent fight to make the extermination of a national, racial or religious group an international crime. The historic Genocide Convention, ratified so far by forty-three nations, provides a legal means of preventing and punishing man's most appalling inhumanity to man.

A number of emergency measures aimed at re-integrating Jews in the normal life of European communities and stemming in part from the conference on anti-Semitism in Switzerland, were adopted during the early postwar years. General Lucius D. Clay, commander of the American Occupation Forces, gave particularly urgent attention to the problem in Germany. As part of the Allied reorientation program in the defeated and destitute country, NCCJ was invited in 1947 to start systematic operations.

Few German Jews survived the persecutions, and only a small number among the survivors cared to resume life in Germany. But the interest of the European community as a whole demanded that the Jewish problem be placed before the German people as a test and a challenge. In other European countries anti-Semitism did not appear to be a very deep-rooted or serious heritage of the war. In general, anti-

Semitism and political Nazism were cut from the same cloth. The wholesale rejection of the Nazi ideology by the overwhelming majority of Europeans after the liberation hit the sources of anti-Jewish philosophy at the same time.

Therefore, no educational endeavors aiming specifically at the removal of anti-Semitism appeared necessary outside Germany. Nevertheless, nccj recognized that everywhere there was a considerable field for study of Christian-Jewish relations as a religious problem. Some studies had been undertaken on this subject in various countries and plans called for coordinating these efforts within the framework of a Religious Commission of the European organization then in the making.

In the spring of 1947 the U.S. Military Government in Berlin established a Department of Interfaith Relations and Free Church Affairs under the direction of Dr. Sterling W. Brown, now executive vice-president of nccj. Clinchy, at Brown's urging, came to Berlin in the fall of 1947 to confer with officials on problems of anti-Semitism and other inter-religious affairs. George McKibbin, advisor on governmental affairs to General Clay, and Sterling Brown brought Clinchy and Clay together, and nccj was requested to send staff help to work in Germany. nccj staff member Carl F. Zietlow went to work in Germany. James M. Eagan, Theron Johnson, and Dumont Kenny, also veterans of service in Germany under General Clay and Commissioner John McCloy, joined nccj's staff later.

At the request of General Douglas MacArthur, Dr. Herbert L. Seamans, director of nccj's Educational Commission, served in a capacity similar to Brown's in Tokyo for two years, helping to formulate long-range policies for the reorganization and redirection of religious education in Japan.

From 1948 to 1951 nccj served as one of the sponsoring agencies for the visit of some three hundred fifty German religious leaders, selected by the United States Military

Government to spend several months of intensive study on various aspects of American life.

NCCJ's "Books for Freedom" campaign resulted in the collection of over thirty thousand volumes to replace books burned by the Nazis or confiscated by the Communists at the University of Berlin. Included in the new library was a whole new section on social problems and human relations, a field ignored in the old school.

In carrying out its mission in Europe at that time, NCCJ leaders encouraged and helped establish local councils of Christians and Jews to implement emergency measures until an effective European organization could be set up. Many of these local councils were organized in West Germany—in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Offenbach, Wiesbaden, Freiburg, Karlsruhe, Nuremberg, Bremen and Duesseldorf. One high United States Army official called the unfamiliar accent on brotherhood one of the most significant post-war developments in Germany.

There were many encouraging signs in the formative days that a movement for brotherhood on an international level was "an idea whose time had come." From Holland a leading official of the Jewish Research Work of the Netherlands Red Cross wrote to express his interest in starting a national council. A young Hindu scholar, professor of sociology at the University of Baroda, visited NCCJ's New York office to tell of his intention to devote his life to the organization of a parallel council of Hindus and Moslems. A young Argentine engineer returned to his country with a plan to organize a society to combat anti-Semitism disseminated by exiles from Nazi Germany.

Over a period of five years, NCCJ representatives, assisted by a staff of European advisers, conducted consultations with Pope Pius XII and members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, with representatives of the World Council of Churches and other leaders of the Protestant churches, and with prominent leaders of the Jewish faith. In the field of

child and adult education, half a dozen international study conferences, financed by NCCJ and directed by its European personnel, attempted an analysis of the European intergroup situation and prepared the frame of an organization best fitted to the needs of the continent.

By 1949, the ground had been cleared and important groups of friends enlisted in France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Austria. It now took the work of men who would combine the gift of an audacious vision, sound experience in this kind of adventure and a thorough knowledge of conditions in Europe, to codify the basic charter for the creation of a European organization. A distinguished Christian layman, George McKibbin of Chicago, barn-stormed European cities to consult with leaders and open doors for a young Swiss Quaker, Pierre Visseur, and Clinchy.

Charles Evans Hughes, late great Chief Justice of the United States and one of the founders of NCCJ, before his death had taken the lead in securing the unqualified endorsement of the Federal Government for the world-wide organization, and in mobilizing general support for the proposal.

Cooperating in the framing of the final structure were the most distinguished leaders in all fields of life in the Western world. Italy's Fiat head Vitterio Valletta, the late steel executive Senator Enrico Falck, Albert Pirelli of Pirelli tires, typewriter man Adriano Olivetti and non-Communist labor leader Giulio Pastore joined with the continent's key educators in a team under the direction of Alfredo Pizzoni, head of Credito Italiano, Italy's largest bank, and former coordinator of the Italian resistance movement. J. D. Zellerbach was enormously helpful in this development.

France was to be host for the constituent assembly of the planned World Brotherhood organization. Said Great Knight of the Legion of Honor Emmanuel Monick, honorary governor of the Bank of France: "Count on me. I shall not only

secure you the support of French leaders, but also men in key positions in the economic life of all Western European countries." Monick later became chairman of the World Brotherhood International Finance Committee, whose members are among the free world's most influential bankers.

In France, men of the caliber of President Paul Reynaud, bank executive Bloch-Lainé and Collot d'Escury of Credit Lyonnais and Tron, of the Bank of Industrial Credit, automotive leaders Pigozzi of Simca and Lehideux of French Ford, Nobel Peace Prize winner Leon Jouhaux, Catholic labor leader Gaston Tessier, Sorbonne President Jean Sarrailh and scholars Siegfried and Duhamel of the French Academie, pledged their active assistance.

The late NCCJ Catholic co-chairman Thomas E. Braniff's leadership and encouragement enlisted the support of airline leaders abroad. KLM's Albert Plesman of Holland, Sabena's Perier of Belgium and General Ziegler of Air France inscribed their names among the pioneers of the European program. Switzerland's Victor Loeb of Loeb department stores, Luxembourg's Arbed steel executive Guill Konsbruck, Germany's Volkswagen President Heinz Nordhoff, Denmark bankers Kaufmann and Glashof contributed their views and promised their aid in getting work started in their respective countries.

The result of five years of exploratory operations was a Declaration of Principles to serve as the basis for an educational program which was gradually to enlist the schools, the churches and synagogues, the media of information and civic, cultural and professional organizations in a coordinated, systematic effort to achieve the ideals of brotherhood in Europe.

In the early summer of 1950, nearly two hundred Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders from fifteen Western European and North American nations convened in Paris to give formal sanction to the plan of action. UNESCO House was

host for the two sections of the assembly, one working on the charter, the second on program developments.

As NCCJ ambassador George McKibbin pointed out, World Brotherhood enjoined its members not to involve the organization in politics, engage in common worship or seek a common faith, but to concentrate on civic cooperation among all those "who believe in a spiritual interpretation of the universe."

Said Dr. Arthur Compton, general chairman: "We represent those who consider it a matter of great significance that in the sight of God it is man, not the state, that counts . . . The whole Judaeo-Christian way of life, including what we mean by democratic freedom, is faced with the most serious challenge of modern times. It is evident that the dictatorial forces of Communism are out to gain control of the world by whatever means may be found effective.

"The need for military defense is obvious and so is that for maintaining our economic strength. What is perhaps not so apparent is that the courage and determination to go ahead with our defense cannot be maintained unless the free peoples of the world recognize they have an objective worth defending. It seems to me that World Brotherhood supplies that objective."

Roman Catholic Archbishop Maurice Feltin of Paris welcomed the new organization as a rallying of the "most authentic spiritual forces. I wish to give evidence once again of the strong desire of the Roman Catholic Church to join efforts with all men of good will for the building of a better world." Dr. Marc Boegner, one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches, pledged cooperation of Protestants. Said Isaiah Schwartz, Chief Rabbi of France: "At the present time, when so many clouds are accumulating on the horizon, there is no task more holy and more necessary than that presented to us."

Educational leaders the world over enthusiastically endorsed the new organization. Said UNESCO Director General

Jaime Torres Bodet, "There is nothing that the world needs more at this fateful hour than concerted effort by men of good will to lay the foundations of a real international community. I believe that World Brotherhood can play a leading role in this great mission. We are proud that it is being born in UNESCO House."

First among the pioneers of European cooperation, Paul Henri Spaak, then President of the General Assembly of the Council of Europe, accepted the Honorary Chairmanship of the European Division of World Brotherhood and urged that its program be built, solidly, upon these three fundamental principles of Western civilization: "A Christian community, the great idea of Tolerance, and the indispensable necessity for Education. In order to build a world in which a brotherly spirit reigns," said Spaak, "it is first necessary to mold man."

The founders of World Brotherhood dedicated the new organization to the proposition that "brotherhood means giving to individuals of all nations, races and religions the same rights and dignity we want to keep for ourselves," set as its goal the achievement of "justice, amity, understanding and cooperation, among all peoples of good will." To carry out this objective through existing institutions, the conference authorized the appointment of five Pan-Europe commissions.

World Brotherhood seemed little more than a puny "David" of understanding stacked up against a "Goliath" of global suspicion and distrust. But its ideology packed a potential wallop as dynamic as David's slingshot. As Time Inc. Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce observed, World Brotherhood "will have no visible power—no power of the purse, no power to command armies, or to write laws. Yet those who give themselves to this task may set up a current of power greater than all other forces."

How true an image of NCCJ is World Brotherhood? There can be no doubt that the European organization is a child of NCCJ, even though only a tiny fraction of its budget is

allocated to it. The spirit and the experience of the American organization were valuable capital investments in the European program. But World Brotherhood was not conceived for operations under conditions prevailing in the United States, but for work in areas where sociological conditions vary considerably from the American scene.

World Brotherhood, indeed, brought a new concept to the Old World. It was international, non-governmental, educational. It did not seek membership. It operated through the institutions which shaped attitudes and opinions. Its sponsors and workers included most of the segments of society. It pursued a goal for the well-being of the community without any ties to a particular political party or group.

This, Europe had not experienced before. Never before had businessmen, labor leaders, educators and clergymen joined forces to do a job for the community. The organizational and financial buildup of a movement operating for the common good, and not as a means to gain advantages for a particular group, was unique.

But the instinctive reaction of disillusioned Europeans everywhere was suspicious reservation: "Who is behind this, who is paying and why?" It took and continues to take time of World Brotherhood's leaders to encourage some Europeans to give new support for an old philosophy.

Today, some five years after its formal constitution at UNESCO House, World Brotherhood counts several thousand friends in Western Europe who work for its cause. There is a working team of World Brotherhood in most Western European capitals, with influential citizens of each country serving as sponsors. Each team develops the program called for by its community, region or country.

In Holland, major emphasis may be placed on the relationship between Catholics and Protestants; in Germany between Christians and Jews, and between the German population and the ninety-five thousand illegitimate children

of the occupation armies, three thousand of whom are colored.

The French chapter is now concentrating on an educational effort to foster healthier relations between French and North Africans, in both areas. Its program includes work on cultural relations between the various peoples and races of the French Union, as well as cooperation in projects designed to promote European understanding. Here Africans and Europeans who are Moslems engage in the work.

In other countries (e.g., Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland and Scandinavia) teams of teachers are working on the development of new techniques in teaching international and intercultural understanding. In particular, the teaching of history, geography and modern languages is being systematically explored to discover sources of prejudice and to make these subject matters effective instruments of mutual understanding.

The Italian chapter is giving major attention to matters of civic cooperation, elimination of social tensions and to the regeneration of a sense of responsible citizenship after twenty years of Fascist rule. Each year World Brotherhood, as one example, gives special training to some one hundred Italian teachers. At these sessions teachers from South Italy and North Italy were brought together for the first time.

In Luxembourg, in a more specific example of the work, the World Brotherhood chapter discovered that Jews and Protestants were not receiving equal credit for their religious instruction in the schools. Leaders of the chapter, mostly Catholic, set to work and corrected the situation. In Geneva, where both labor and management leaders meet regularly in the chapter, the monthly meetings served as a forum for the discussion of a conflict problem which had plagued the city for several years. Although the members had not come together for that purpose, the conflict was soon resolved.

Local committees operating under the auspices of the continental commissions undertake a year-round job for

brotherhood, highlighted by special manifestations during Brotherhood Week, now widely observed throughout Europe.

Since 1950, with a small staff (under the direction of Secretary General Willard Johnson and European Secretary Pierre Visseur in Geneva and Herman Ebeling in Germany), World Brotherhood has organized chapters in all countries of Western Europe and in North Africa.

The Hawaii Chapter was launched soon after Dr. and Mrs. William A. Shimer returned from the Paris Assembly to the University of Hawaii. It is centered in Honolulu on Oahu but has units on five neighbor islands. The officers and membership include Caucasians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, Polynesians and Indians. They are Catholic and Protestant Christians, Mormons, Buddhists, Shintoists, Hindus and Jews. Interest is high. The five standard program commissions meet monthly. From the start the chapter has been financially self-sustaining through contributions from eight thousand persons and several local foundations.

The World Brotherhood Commission on Educational Organizations has sponsored teacher workshops annually in France, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Germany. To such names among United States pioneers striving to adjust education to the intergroup realities of the times as Wilson and MacCracken, Taba and Cook, Bigelow and Chworowsky, Klineberg and Klotsche and Goslin and Miller, have been added those of Lauwerys of London, Hendry of Canada, Kees Boeke and Von Willigan of Holland, de Bie and Tits of Belgium, Bjorklund of Sweden, Borghi of Italy, Hatinguais of France, Braunshausen of Luxembourg, Maylan of Switzerland, Therring of Austria and Haupt and Fingerle of Germany.

Compared with the hundreds of millions of dollars which the United States has contributed for the rebuilding of European factories, railways, roads and bridges, World Brotherhood's contribution may appear insignificant. But no

price can be set on good human relations. When Paul G. Hoffman was Marshall Plan administrator in Europe, he became one of the founders of World Brotherhood because he felt its success was essential to any future in economic reconstruction.

Consolidating European communities on moral and civic levels, making them healthy and strong foundations for building economic, political and military strength for the free world is the job of World Brotherhood. It is a job no one else is doing. World Brotherhood has no competitors in Europe or Asia.

Early in 1954, Drs. Clinchy, Compton and Shimer, director of the Pacific-Asia division of World Brotherhood, set out on a four-month trip through the Orient to explore trends in human relations and to determine how effectively an intensive educational program in intergroup relations—conducted by Asians for Asia—might contribute to world peace. During the long journey, the trio lectured, held symposiums and, more as explorers than teachers, discussed problems of good will with hundreds of Far East and Middle East citizens.

Despite the grim day-to-day headlines in the United States, the three adventurers in brotherhood returned with a refreshing and hopeful report. They were convinced that many of the 750 million free Asians, victims through the centuries of poverty, illiteracy, disease, misgovernment and discrimination, were eager for a program relating understanding among men to the practical economic, political and social relations of everyday living. They discovered, too, the common belief in the ideals of brotherhood in all the religions of Asia, a belief upon which a sound and realistic program in intergroup relations could be founded.

Among evidences they brought back with them are these quotations, gleaned from hundreds of possible examples to be found in the great religions of East and West:

HINDUISM: May all beings regard me with the eye of a

friend. May I regard all beings with the eye of a friend. With the eye of a friend do we regard one another.

SIKHISM: He who telleth me anything of my beloved God is my brother, is my friend. The poor man and the rich man are brothers. God's design cannot be set aside. Call everyone exalted. Let no one appear to be low. Regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the heart of each.

BUDDHISM: To one in whom love dwells, all the world are brothers.

CONFUCIANISM: He comes to ruin who says that others are not equal to himself.

SHINTOISM: All ye men under the heaven! Regard heaven as your father, earth as your mother, and all things as your brothers and sisters.

JUDAISM: Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

CHRISTIANITY: Whoso shall do the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my brother and sister. Love thy neighbour as thyself.

ISLAM: Mankind is but one people. Let none of you treat a brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated.

"Asian leaders understand that the free nations must succeed better than those under Communist control if the democratic system is to prevail," says Dr. Clinchy. "They see also the great effectiveness of the Communist educational programs among their own youth, which is strongly oriented toward teamwork—and subordination of individuality to the State. They recognize that, if their free nations are to compete successfully with such a Communist program, they must develop a will toward cooperation that will rise above group prejudices.

"Today, world history is being played out in the theater of Asia. There are conflicting tides of human aspirations and desires. And in an atmosphere of seeking and searching such as now exists in these strategic and important areas, even

small forces may sway the course of human events. World Brotherhood has the principles, the experience and methods with which to create understanding, to enlarge the vision, to strengthen the moral dynamism and to unite the diverse forces of men and women in the inclusive community agencies that determine human attitudes and relationships. The future of India and all Asia might, in considerable measure, be determined by the work of World Brotherhood in that vital and awakening nation."

Dr. Clinchy returned from the Asian trip with further evidence of what he believes to be one of the main ideas emerging in modern times: a growing conscience with regard to aggression. This new ethical attitude in Asia, he found, is supported by a renaissance of the basic religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, which is "vastly influenced" by Western ethics and philosophy. "It is wrong to think of free Asians as a stack of cards that can be pushed over by the Communists," he says.

The Asians in the ten countries visited eagerly seized upon the cultural pluralism of World Brotherhood as the alternate ideology to Communist monism that would force all to think alike. The importance for future human history of the seed sown round the world by the Compton team may be tremendous, indeed. Education in mutual understanding and respect is tragically needed in the newly-won freedom of Asians.

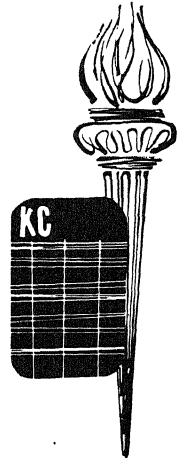
Five years after the Paris founding of World Brotherhood, the second quinquennial assembly was called to meet in Brussels, Belgium. This time the whole free world would join in the development of organization and programs for the universal brotherhood of man.

The story of NCCJ and World Brotherhood threads through the dark warp of prejudice and hate with the bright strain of universal recognition that the denial of brotherhood to even one human being blemishes the complex and richly colored tapestry of human existence. At the loom of history,

the Conference has helped to weave a new pattern of sensitivity in human relations that is altering the social outlook of the twentieth century.

NCCJ is the world's oldest and largest organization devoted to intergroup relations. Its trail-blazing leadership in America's adventures in brotherhood is a matter of record. And now, its lusty offspring, World Brotherhood, is blazing the trail on every continent. Brotherhood has no geographical boundaries. If truly realized anywhere, it will be realized everywhere. Humanity undivided against itself can march to unimaginable heights of happiness and creative living.

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